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LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT AND FIELDWORK ON TRIBAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*

B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY

Hyderabad

Prologue

Distinguished dignitaries and scholars on the dais, learned delegates and linguists, ladies and gentlemen! At the outset I would like to express my indebtedness to the Executive and General Body of the Dravidian Linguistics Association for nominating me as the president of the Association for this year. Let me commence my address with a secular invocation from Manda, an endangered Dravidian tribal language spoken in the Thuamal Rampur highlands of Kalahandi district, Orissa.

beTo ayake, taha ayake

arne ayake, aya ziyake

aba ziyake, duko va : vake

kosoT va : vake

harda manake, girdamanake.

‘May there be hunting and good crops
May there be riches and may mother live long
May father live long
May no sorrow befall on anyone
May no hardship strike anyone
May happiness be everywhere!’

* Presidential address delivered at the 37th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists held at International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Thiruvananthapuram from 18 - 20 June 2009.

The essence of this song might remind one of the Ancient Tamil saying "ya:tum u:re:ya: varum ke:Lir" or the Sanskrit expression "sareve jana:sukhino bhavantu".

I request the august audience to bear with me if my talk is autobiographical at times. Soon after receiving an M.A. in Linguistics from the Deccan College, Pune, I had the opportunity of joining the then newly established Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore on its research staff. I was assigned the task of conducting linguistic field work on Kuvi (a Dravidian tribal language of Orissa) under the Institute's Bilingual Education project. My mentors Dr. D.P. Pattanayak, Dr. H.S. Biligiri and Dr E. Annamalai supervised my research at different stages. Documentation of any unwritten spoken language is expected to result in a grammar, a dictionary, texts and teaching materials. The work on Kuvi fortunately, yielded a phonetic reader, a Kuvi-English dictionary, Folklore and Kuvi readers for bilingual education. My association with Kuvi had such a deep impact on me that I continued to conduct fieldwork on several other languages.

When I was a student at the University of Edinburgh Professor Thomas Burrow of Oxford University (who along with Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya identified Manda) advised me to undertake fieldwork on Manda, which I did to the best of my ability. Over the last three decades or so, I have been conducting fieldwork on tribal languages and literatures which include Kuvi, Manda, Indi-Awe, Parengi - Gorum, Savara (Sora), Gadaba, Irula and several others. Thus I was involved mainly in the study of some of the languages of central and southern regions of India.

1. Introduction

The situation of indigenous tribal languages of India is unique and precarious at the same time the number of tribal languages ranges between 75% to 80% at the national level, though the number of speakers is 8% or so. It shows that a small number of the so-called major languages dominated over the minor indigenous speeches. The languages of the latter group are unscheduled (not mentioned in the Constitution with two exceptions), not medium of education, political power, administration and other domains of national life. In spite of all the 'disadvantages, the past indicates retention of these languages as

vehicles of tribal identity, heritage, indigenous knowledge systems, cultural ethos, ritual practices and oral literature. But with the advent of mass media, especially television, cinema and other communication systems, the younger generation of tribal communities is attracted more towards major powerful languages at the cost of their parental home languages. This might lend to language loss in future, at least in the case of certain smaller groups.

With the experience of linguistic fieldwork in central and southern India, the present paper concentrates on certain selected tribal languages of Dravidian and Munda groups. From the former group, we will examine Toda, Kota, Irula, Badaga, Koraga, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda, Indi-Awe, Kolami, Naiki, Parji and Gadaba; while the latter group consists of Kharia, Juang, Savara (Sora), Gorum (Parengi), Gutob (Gadaba), Remo (Bodo) and Didei (Gta?). Both these groups are in active contact with major regional languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Oriya, Hindi, Marathi or Telugu depending upon the region. A detailed analysis and description of each language in terms of language retention, shift, loss and moribundity will be examined to explain the status of their endangerment or otherwise.

Unlike the situation in the Americas and Australia where the European invaders had carried out a sort of genocide of the natives, the Indian ~~had~~ been one of live and let live. The one prevailing illiterate bilingualism leading to underlying common grammar coupled with code switching has been accelerating the retention of minor tribal languages. But this cannot be extended to and expected in the future. Thus the twin processes of endangerment and retention are the Indian reality. Certain measures are suggested for revitalization of those tribal speeches that are prone to disappear under pressure from the dominant languages.

2. Tribal Languages: An Overview

As defined Annamalai (1990) "Tribe, commonly called scheduled tribe in the Indian context is an administrative and legal term to label some ethnic groups based on their socio-economic status, and religious and cultural customs in order to give special attention to them as mandated by the constitution". The concept of tribe has been a complex one with various ramifications and perceptions right from

ancient days in the context of Indian subcontinent. Though the ancient works do not bother to provide the names and characteristics of tribal communities, from historical and archaeological evidence it is clear that the indigenous people lived with distinct cultures and used their languages in this subcontinent even during the Pre-Vedic period (Levi et al 1929). There existed many tribal communities which were part of the Harappan civilisation with unique culture and languages. In fact, we all know that even the Vedas were part of an oral tradition before they were rendered to graphization. The ancient tribal people had expressed, like all human beings all over the world, their experience, concepts, wisdom, suffering, joy, social relations and other acts of everyday life in their spoken word as well as through their oral literature. This treasure of knowledge consisting of ancient values, human dignity, equality of persons, respect for nature etc., was passed on to the successive generations by the tribal communities. A close observation of the ordinary life of an ordinary tribe either in the Himalayas or in the Central India or in the South, is sufficient to convince any one that the humane values among tribal people have much to offer to the so-called civilized world. It is this type of heritage, which is encoded into the tribal languages, and their literary output consisting of stories, narrations, poetry, proverbs, riddles, idioms, jokes and other discourse genres, which deserve out immediate attention.

3. The Status of Tribal Languages vis-à-vis the Regional Languages

<i>Tribal Languages</i>	<i>Non-Tribal Languages</i>
(a) Non-literary	Literary
(b) Oral (Spoken)	Written
(c) Minor	Major
(d) Undeveloped or Underdeveloped	Developed
(e) Non-Scheduled	Scheduled (in the Constitution)
(f) Dominated	Dominating
(g) Not used in education, administration, judiciary, legislature or other higher levels	WL (Languages of wider communication)

(h) Undermined and neglected by outsiders	Recognized
(i) Not vehicles of power and prestige	Command power and prestige
(j) Referred (by others) with derogatory epithets and ridicule	Treated with honour
(k) High incidence of natural illiterate bilingualism (even trilingualism)	Mostly monolingualism in rural areas with a few exceptions
(l) Not used as media in electronic, audio and visual programmes	Used on radio, cinema, television and print media
(m) No separate exclusive script (with certain exceptions)	By and large have a separate writing system
(n) Mostly oral literature	Both oral and written literature

4. Central Indian Situation

Central India is the homeland of tribal populations belonging to at least three different linguistic families of Munda (Austro-Asiatic), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan (Indo-European). For centuries, the speakers of these languages have been living together exchanging cultural and linguistic traits among themselves. Unfortunately, there are no written records of any sort referring to the earlier linguistic situations, let alone regarding the interfamilial transference of features. Even a detailed descriptive study of any of the languages of the area shows the impact of the neighbouring languages on its lexical, phonological and grammatical structures under the areal pressure.

The current sociolinguistic situation in the area is that there is a widespread active bilingualism among the speakers of tribal Dravidian and Munda languages, as they are proficient in the local varieties of Oriya such as Desia or Adivasi Oriya, which is the link language of the region. One may notice some multilingual tribal groups proficient in tribal as well as major language of the region. In terms of prestige, the dominant languages like Oriya, Telugu, Marathi or Hindi occupy the higher layer and the tribal languages the lower. Within the tribal

languages, it is hard to place them on the scale of prestige, though the numerical majority might lead to dominant position, depending upon a particular local situation. There is more solidarity and fraternity among the tribes irrespective of the genetic affiliation of the languages and the speakers involved.

Mutual influence between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan is part of common knowledge. However, apart from showing certain resemblances with the dominant Indo-Aryan languages, the Khondh Dravidian (Kuvi, Pengo, Kui, Manda and Indi-Awe) remarkably reflects certain similarities (in phonology and grammar) with that of the neighbouring Munda languages. Central India offers a linguistic situation wherein a group of Austro-Asiatic (Munda) languages exert their pressure, through historical contact, on Indo-Aryan and Dravidian: a case where the dominating (Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) languages are influenced by the dominated (Munda) group. There are also several instances of Munda influence on the structure of a sub-linguistic area with the diffusion of linguistic traits from each of the three groups into the other two actively involved in the contact situation (as detailed in B.R. Reddy 1980 and 2005).

5. The South Indian Situation

There are 105 communities spread over five regions - Kerala, Lakshadweep, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. But only 33 languages are noticed as spoken by these communities either as home language [H] or mother tongue or language for outside communication, i.e. in-group as well as inter-group communication. Many tribal communities have declared non-tribal languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Tulu as their first language. This situation attracts either of the following two interpretations: (i) the particular tribal group(s) might have had a distinct language as its native speech but it had lost it in course of time under pressure; for example Konda Kapu, Konda Reddi and others; (ii) the tribe might have been speaking a dialect as its native tongue, as is the case with most of the tribal communities of Kerala in having Malayalam as the first language.

There are another 17 Dravidian tribal speeches declared as home languages, viz. Gadaba, Gondi, Kuvi, Irula, Muduga, Kadar,

Kanikkar, Kattunaikar, Kolami, Koya, Konda, Paroja, Urali, Koraga, Kota, Toda and Yerukala. Out of these, Gadaba, Gondi, Kuvi, Irula, Kolami, Kota and Toda are treated as independent languages.

Besides, there are eight languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan family that are in use either as home language or as language of outside communication. These include Banjara (Lambadi), Vaghri, Mahl, Dweep Bhasha, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi and Urdu. The first four are tribal speeches, the rest are major non-tribal languages, but used by tribes for inter-group communication purposes. Banjara speakers are spread throughout Andhra Pradesh and parts of Karnataka. The Vaghri speakers are a nomadic tribe that one can come across at several places. Some of them are settled in government-provided housing near Kuppam, Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh. Mahl and Dweep Bhasha are used in Lakshadweep. Hindi and Urdu are noticed as languages of wider communication of certain tribal groups whereas Marathi and Oriya are spoken as home languages by some tribes and as inter-group communication languages by certain other tribal communities.

There are two languages, namely, Savara and Gutob (Gadaba) belonging to the Munda subgroup of the Austro-Asiatic family spoken in Andhra Pradesh. Savara speakers live in Srikakulam district, while the Gutab speakers are found in the Salur area of Vizianagaram district. Both the groups are trilingual knowing their mother tongue, Telugu and Oriya. The Gadaba situation is ethno-linguistically unique in that there is a single ethnic tribal community, i.e. Gadaba, speaking languages belonging to two different language families. The Gutob (Gadaba) is a member of Munda family of languages with its typical linguistic characteristics, while the other Gadaba is a member of the Dravidian group. In other words, it is a unique situation of a culturally homogenous ethnic community speaking languages of two different genetic families.

6. Tribal Bilingualism

Another important feature to be noticed is that most of the speakers of tribal languages are bilingual except in the case of language loss like some of the Kerala tribes. Trilingualism or multilingualism is also noticed in certain contexts with tribal communities. Bilingualism in

the Indian context is a product of social contact between linguistic groups, which lays foundation for cultural convergence at the conceptual, pragmatic level. This cultural convergence in turn paves the way for linguistic convergence, wherein the speakers evolve a common core grammar that triggers in encoding of two or three grammars. In other words, linguistic convergence contributes to language retention rather than language loss. It is the diffusion of phonological, grammatical and lexical rules across genetic boundaries, which has given birth to India as a linguistic area (Emeneau, 1956). Socio-political and cultural interaction between tribal and non-tribal communities has resulted, through language contact, in linguistic convergence wherein the minor tribal languages have left their impact on major linguistic groups (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1992). In the South Indian situation, it appears that we have the instance of both language loss and retention.

Though every one does not know more than one language, the incidence of bilingualism is high in India. The acquisition/learning of two (or more) languages is possible either in natural environs or by schooling, i.e. natural bilingualism versus tutored bilingualism. Both the illiterates as well as literates exhibit the former, while the latter is confined to the literate or educated persons. Majority of the tribal communities acquire more than one language from the fact that they learn their native mother tongue or home language for intra-group communication and the major regional language for inter-group communication. Based on the 1991 Census, Bhattacharya (2002) has tabulated the percentage of bilingualism in the speakers of Scheduled languages as well as the Non-Scheduled languages. The tribal languages fall under the latter category. With no exception, the speakers of all tribal languages show considerable incidence of bilingualism, which ranges from 10% to 70% depending upon the local situation. This bilingualism is preceded by the underlying biculturalism in almost all the cases.

Even Trilingualism is not uncommon among the tribes of South and Central Indian, especially among those communities living across the borders of linguistic states. The tribes of Araku valley and others on Andhra-Orissa border like the Savaras, Kondhs, Dideis, Gadabas and Batras are fluent in three languages, namely, their mother tongue, Oriya and Telugu. Similarly the Irulas, Mudugas and Kurumbas of Attapadi

valley across Tamil Nadu - Kerala border speak the native language, Malayalam and Tamil. The existing bilingualism among the tribes can be made use of in getting them to the literacy fold through bilingual education. The tribal learner includes both the child at the school and the adult learner seeking literacy. Bilingualism among the tribes is no doubt, stable and common, but their language proficiency in second language ranges from mere acquaintance to genuine command over the language. However, it is to be noted that there are also instances where the tribal learner is a monolingual, in his home language, especially children and women living on the highlands. The monolingual tribal child faces cognitive and communicative problems at the school where the instruction is in the regional major language, e.g. Gondi children attending the Telugu medium school. The content of the primers is also alien and new with imposition of outside categories, values, perceptions and world-views. The tribal people may be illiterate but they do not lack communicative skills. Using his socio-cultural and ethno-linguistic inheritance, a tribal speaker can compete with any outsider in oral skills of expression, i.e. listening and speaking. Orality (as opposed to literacy) is his basic medium of interaction, both for inter-group and intra-group communication (Pattanayak 1990 and Mohanty 1990).

Oracy is defined as a "skill in self-expression and ability to communicate freely with others by word of mouth" (Pattanayak 1990). Oral tradition among the tribal communities includes such items as (i) long-drawn conversations, debates, narrations and instructions, (ii) tribal lore: songs, tales, riddles, idioms, proverbs, puzzles, poetry, etc., e.g. Kuvi and Gondi texts. The content or theme of the tribal lore generally refers to (a) origin of the universe and stories relating to forest, woods, birds, animals, etc., (b) inter-personal interactions and experience, myths and Puranas, (c) tribal view of the world and philosophy of life, (d) ritual recitations and (e) love and romance (B.R. Reddy 2000a).

7. Tribal Lore

India is rich in having both the oral as well as written literature. There is an enormous amount of oral literature among the rural and tribal people, much of which is yet to be documented. Oral literature is found in the form of tales, narratives, songs, creation myths, fables, plays, ballads, epics, proverbs, idioms, charms, riddles and jokes.

The cultural traits, value systems, interpersonal relations, man's place in physical sphere and in spiritual cosmos, philosophy of life and worldview of tribes are reflected in their oral literature. Most of the content and form (expression system) of tribal literature is inherited from tradition, but the tribes are instant poets, and song makers as in the case of Todas and Kuvis. Any subject of their experience can be taken up for composition. However, the traditional songs, story telling, etc., are occasion-bound in that they are performed during ceremonies, rituals, weddings and festivals. It is common knowledge that oral literature springs from the hard-work situation of the folk as well.

7.1 Oral Literature of the Kondh Tribe

Kondh is an important tribal community spread across northern Andhra Pradesh and Southern Orissa. The tribe speaks five different languages, namely, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda and Indi-Awe, I have carried out intensive fieldwork on Kuvi and Manda. The following genres are extracted from my research and publications.

7.1.1 Ethnicity and Lexical Structure

The subtle division of culturally relevant semantic fields into an elaborate lexical system is a common trait across languages of the world, as is noticed through various words for snow in Icelandic, came! in Arabic, frost in Gaelic, honey in Kadar, snake in Manda, mushroom in Kuvi etc. The lexical structure of Manda exhibits a culture-loaded vocabulary, which is unique for the ethnic group of Kondhs. For example, the religious functionaries and official such as priests and dignitaries involved in the sacrificial festival of Tuki and their hierarchies and functions are expressed by the following native monomorphemic lexical items:

<i>Mu:R</i>	'high priest, the chief'
<i>ja:ni</i>	'priest'
<i>gurma:y</i>	'the woman, possessed of spirits who predicts future'
<i>dihavari</i>	'astrologer, diviner'
<i>du:tar</i>	'representatives on the festival committee'
<i>mudradarya</i>	'the person who takes (in a procession) the sacrificial animal around the villages'

ra:pya 'the man who scavenges the blood and flesh of sacrificed animals'

As can be gathered, these lexical items are structured in their connotative and denotative meaning with regard to each other thereby rendering an exact expression to an entire semantic field salient to the culture of the ethnic group.

The Kondh community accords great importance to their ancestral spirits and they offer to the spirits whatever is produced and consumed by the community. The liquor, for example, has a sacramental role in the life of the tribes. In a wedding ceremony, the participation of liquor as a ritual drink is important as can be seen by the following division of liquor depending upon the context of a particular ritual and the occasion of consumption:

- veTpa kalin* 'ceremonial or sacrificial liquor offered to the Mother-Earth'
- venbakalin* 'inquiry/discussion/agreement liquor'
- ba:tgaga:gRan* 'wayside-liquor(consumed on travel)'
- ma:lakalin* 'betrothal liquor(hosted by groom's parents)'
- julkuna kalin* 'welcome drink given to the bride's people by groom's party on the eve of the bride's entering the in-laws' village'
- jutakalirn* 'bride-price liquor (liquor sent to bride's parents along with other gifts as part of bride-price by groom's parents)'

7.1.2 Tu:ki perbe 'the Sacrificial Ritual'

In earlier times the Kondhs used to practise the ritual of human sacrifice in honour of the Mother-Earth with the belief that such a sacrifice would bring prosperity to the community as it satisfies the Goddess DhartaNi or DharaNi. The human victim of sacrifice is known as *meriah*. "The captives (*meriah*) used to be the persons other than their own community and they were procured on payment from the local Hindu low castes like the Panos and others. They used to be lured to come to hills. The women captives were also married so that the

children born later might be sacrificed" (Banerjee, 1969:96). The practice of human sacrifice was suppressed by the British Government in the middle of the 19th century and the sacrificial object was replaced by animals such as buffalo, goat or ram. Since then the Kondhs have been sacrificing one of the animals to the Mother-Earth at this very important sacramental festival. The *tu:ki* festival is a central significant event in the annual calendar of the Kondhs. It is celebrated in the month of December-January, each time in a particular selected village. A cluster of villages forms part of the festival. The *Ti:ki* festival is a great time to rejoice, relax and to enjoy themselves for the Kondhs. The ritual itself is well organised with a team of religious officials and functionaries involved wherein the duties and privileges of each are clearly demarcated and carried out. There are many other festivals, which the Kondhs celebrate throughout the year such as Mango festival, Sand festival, *Dulkun* festival etc. These festivals are an occasion for the ordinary folks to relax and meet their friends and relatives.

Many of the Gods and Goddesses initiated and instituted by the tribal communities have been adapted / taken over by the majority Hindu religion. The earlier tribal indigenous rituals have been replaced by the processes of Aryanisation and Sanskritization coupled with the ritual supremacy of the Brahmanism. There are several well-known temples in the country, which have been developed in this fashion. The presiding deity of the Jagannath temple of Puri was a Savara tribal God, the Srisailam Mallikarjuna was none but the Mallanna of the Chenchu tribes, the Marathumalai Murugan temple near Coimbatore was an Irula tribal shrine and so forth.

7.1.3 Oral Poetry

During linguistic fieldwork the present author has collected many Kuvi folk songs both from actual performances as well as dictated by the singers at their leisure. The theme of most of the songs is love and it is a poetry of exchange between groups of young men and women. The poems are impersonal with full of similes drawn from nature, as conceived and experienced by the tribal folk, consisting of the river, the stream, the trees, the red soil and its fragrance when drenched with the first rains of the season, the crops, the implements and other everyday experience of the people. When these songs were

brought to the notice of a well-known Tamil scholar and linguist his immediate observation was that they remind him of the ancient Tamil pastoral poetry (Personal communication of Dr. E. Annamalai).

The poems are highly symbolic and the meaning of the symbol is not always transparent. The interpretation of the poem has to be taken in totality of the tribal intuition and their perception of the universe. The singers are instant poets composing songs of new theme as conceived by them. In this respect they are comparable to and can compete with the oral poets of Toda as delineated in the works of Emeneau. The songs maintain a particular rhythm as an exchange between two groups of young men and women, sung in a community dance or between a boy and a girl who are in love with each other.

The syntax of the songs is quite deviant from an ordinary prose of the language. Not only the links are missing in syntactic constructions, but also the normal word order gets shuffled around, to suit the rhythm and ecstasy of the singers. Hence, it is necessary for better understanding to provide an introduction for each poem giving its context and message in simple terms. The links so provided reflect the information supplied by the native speakers as well as ingenuity of the translator, as illustrated hereunder:

1. The boy asks the girl to bring charcoal fire in a ladle to light his cigar as a sign of asking for marital relationship with her. The girl brings a handful of tobacco along with the fire as a sign of accepting the proposal from the boy.

mi:Nahiccunpa?na gotta
muTTaka dungiya Ra?ani gotta

‘To begin a relation,
 The boy requests the girl
 To bring charcoal
 To lit his cigar
 And the girl responds
 With a handful of tobacco’

2. Love-hungry poem

The boy is very much fascinated by the beautiful eyes of the girl. They are rolling like grinding stones. They are sweet like slices of

jackfruit. They are sumptuous like a 'good meal. They are just like two cups on a dining plate.

*jettara mattara pottoro po:nda
goroja:yu manDiya o:nDa
bo:pini kaNaka mespi macihi
ta:Ri sippaha lehe a:nu*

'Her eyes are rolling
Like grinding stones, Nay!
They are like delicious dishes of mutton on dal.
Or ragi-millet, on ball of rice,
And, if you see her eyes,
They are like two cups on a dining plate'

3. The girl feels shy in the presence of the boy and walks away. Then the boy says, "You look like a sandalwood wall. You walk with the tinkling sounds of the bells on your ankles. You smell good like the resin oozing from the tree. My father will go to consult the marriage priest for an auspicious day. I am now looking for a rope to tie the bundle of sticks".

*Tikki Tikki sandana ku:Du
Va:yiti lelli korko:T i
Hinja Rinja basovi a:te
TappuRije ma:Dovi a:te
joppo joppo pengo ma:Ra
porĩ icih ã e:ni e:ne po:da!*

'You look like a sandal wall,
You walk with tinkling bells,
That sound like tamarind seeds
In a dried gourd
You smell like fresh resin
My father will consult the priest soon
And Oh dear
What will you say,
If I tie you with a creeper?'

4. A boy proposes to a girl and she questions him in reply.

a:ka hanoni ki hi:ra hananon

‘Are you a leaf basket or a bamboo basket?’

The tribal poems presented above are but a sample of love songs. Their themes cover all walks of life. The other types of poems are sung during festivals, birth, marriage and other important occasions. "Most of the songs circulate by the process of oral transmission and their roots lie buried in the group-life of the tribes. They have come down from generations and performers learn them from their elders. The continuity of the old tradition is thus maintained" (Mahapatra, 1992: 5).

7.1.4 Riddles

A riddle is defined as "a question or statement intentionally phrased so as to require ingenuity in ascertaining its answer or meaning typically presented as a game" (*The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, 1998). A riddle is like a metaphor wherein different kinds of symbolism are encoded and encapsulated into the language. The resemblances hinted at incorporate the collective experience and wisdom of a particular community. Riddles exploit the socio-cultural, political, interpersonal, biological, environmental, physical and spiritual universe of a particular speech community. They are specific to a culture group for being anchored in that ethos.

Like all forms of oral literature, riddles also travel from person to person, place to place, language to language and country to country. But their anchorage lies in the place or linguistic group of their origin. The Kuvi riddles collected by me during 1970-72 are no exception to this. They reveal the conceptual perception and experience of the Kuvi-Kondhs.

Riddles are unique when compared to other varieties of folklore. They are performed or played with by any ordinary native speaker of the language. It does not require a professional performer (as in the case of epics, ballads and rituals) to indulge in the language game of a riddle. In fact children are much more fascinated to exhibit their ingenuity and learning through playing riddles with their peer group.

Though riddles, like other forms of oral literature, are passed on from generation to generation, many new creations are not infrequent. Changes in lifestyle are reflected even in this minor form of tribal lore. Let us turn our attention to some of the Kuvi riddles collected and translated during the linguistic fieldwork in the Andhra-Orissa border.

(1) *da:vje hajjimanne*

ko:Dije niccamanne - kumDa

‘The rope is moving, but the bull is standing’ - Pumpkin

(2) *mi: ijjo ma:ijjo kRa:nihi Dru::kimannu jetta*

(3) *pani?i rajja re:nesi*

puni rajja enginesi - vikka

‘The old king descends

The new king ascends’

- Roofing grass

(4) *iccani po:da po:NDa hemburika huccamanne -ulliporohoi*

(5) *ha:tiva kaccine*

ji:vumacciva kaccine hapu

‘Dead or alive, it will bite you’ - Thorn

The similes, imagery and comparisons are limited to the rural and highland living way of the community. Their primitive technology, agriculture-based life style, every day pleasure and pain are reflected in the oral literature. For an urban person with modern living some of the items of prominence in the poetry and riddles might sound exotic.

The language of the poetry is native, idiomatic and full of precision, so is the case with the riddles. The rhythm accompanied by sound symbolism, onomatopoeia and phonoaesthetics are worth the name for any literature, let alone the tribal oral literature. The semantics and pragmatics of conversational style both in poetry and riddles is worth exploring, as it can provide the much needed context-dependent interpretation to unravel the hidden depths of the genre.

8. Maintenance and Endangerment of Tribal Languages

With regards to the tribal languages, the Indian situation provides the contradictory position of language maintenance on the one hand and loss on the other. An observation and comparison of the

number of tribal communities with that of the languages suggests language loss and shift. During the last 3,000 years or so, many languages might have disappeared, as the speakers switched over to certain major languages. The tribes living in the plains are more susceptible and vulnerable to language shift than isolated speakers inhabiting the hills. Many speakers of Kuvi, like the Jatapus and Samants, have lost their ancestral language, while the Tekriyas on the hills retain their mother tongue intact.

Tribal languages are endangered under the pressures of modern media of the major languages, i.e. the broadcast and telecast, cinemas and other programmes in languages like Hindi, Oriya, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada lure them. As there are no opportunities for the use of tribal languages in mass media, the native speakers have no opportunity to listen to or watch programmes in their own languages. The Akasavani broadcasts in nearly 60 to 70 tribal languages but these programmes last only for 30 to 60 minutes in a day or a week and their content is mainly songs and other entertainment programmes. Programmes covering education, information, science, technology and other knowledge-oriented opportunities are not provided in their home languages.

Tribal languages are not used in the administrative sphere meant for their own development, not even in the welfare programmes of the Governments. So is the case with judiciary, legislature, etc. even if a tribal is involved in a dispute. The restricted use naturally hampers their development. But interestingly, in spite of socio-economic and cultural pressures from the major languages, the tribes retain their native tongues not only as a marker of identity but also as a treasure of their linguistic and cultural heritage. In certain places in South India, the tribes live similar life to that of the non-tribes. In such a situation, other things being common, language becomes a very important marker of identity. The Indian situation by and large has been maintenance of even the minor languages with borrowing (both lexical as well as structural) from contact languages and survival with a common grammar with that of neighbouring languages (B.R. Reddy 1992 and 2000; Khubchandani 1992).

There are languages spoken by a small number of people, which are retained over a long period of time. In 1603, a British official who undertook an expedition to the Nilgiri Hills had recorded that the

number of Toda speakers was around 800. After an intervening period of four centuries, the Toda language is still retained and spoken by around 1,000 speakers today. Such isolated cases apart, the Indian convergent code providing underlying grammatical and semantic structure encourages language retention.

The Red Paper of the United Nations on "Endangered Languages" stipulates that any language with less than 5,000 native speakers is prone to disappear (Wurm 1993). From this criterion, nearly a hundred languages with less than 10,000 speakers, which are not listed by the Census of India should have become extinct. But the field reality in India is quite different. In central India, languages like Bodo (Remo), Gutob (Gadaba), Parengi-Gorum, Indi-Awe and many others with less than 5,000 speakers continue to be spoken in spite of the U.N. criterion. Unlike the Americas and Australia, where the immigrant Europeans carried out linguistic genocide, the Indian subcontinent has been maintaining linguistic and cultural tolerance towards the minor groups. This could be one of the reasons for retention of indigenous languages even by the marginalized, lesser-known tribal communities. Only during the post-Independence period after the formation of linguistic states, the so-called educated masses of India have been exhibiting linguistic intolerance, taking pride in non-recognition of small identities.

In a recent article on endangerment of "South Asian Languages" George van Driem (2007) contributed to *Encyclopaedia of the World's Endangered Languages* (Ed. Christopher Mosley, pp. 283-347), argues that all the above Dravidian tribal languages and the Munda languages are endangered. The difference among them is one of degree, with such labels as endangered, potentially endangered, seriously endangered, moribund etc. The Indian ground reality is that some of them will be maintained and some others might disappear in future. The former may include Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Kolami, Irula and Parji (of Dravidian), Kharia and Savara of Munda group while the latter category might include Toda, Kota, Konda, Pengo, Manda, Indi-Awe, Naiki and Gadaba (of Dravidian), Juang, Gorum (Parengi), Gutob (Gadaba), Remo (Bodo) and Didei (Gataq) of Munda group.

Reasons for Retention: Large number of speakers. Literacy in native language. Positive attitude towards mother-tongue. Living on hills in

isolation. Bilingualism leading to common core grammar and phonology. Indigenous mother-tongue (Home Language) as a marker of group identity in a multilingual, polycultural society. Considerable oral literature (i.e. tribal folklore) in the language.

Reasons for Endangerment: Younger generation opting for regional major languages. Speakers switching over to regional prestigious tongues. The impact of regional media. Lack of prestige associated with mother tongues. Economic progress through other languages. Inter-group interaction in other tongues. Language loss with tribal identity. Oral literature also transmitted into local lingua franca. Displacement of the community due to the so-called developmental projects by the Government and the private agencies. Progress can kill.

9. Languages do Matter

Why bother about these indigenous tribal speeches? Because they are depositories of:

1. Tribal linguistic heritage and diversity.
2. Intangible Cultural heritage.
3. Indigenous knowledge systems.
4. Ancient wisdom, humaneness, world view, philosophy of life, equality of persons, respect for nature and human dignity.
5. Tribal ethnicity preserved in language structure, e.g. lexicon and grammar.
6. Tribal lore - oral literature in the form of tales, narratives, songs, fables, plays, ballads, epics, proverbs, idioms, charms, riddles, jokes and origin myths.
7. Oral history as conceived by the community.

10. Remedial Measures towards Revitalization of Tribal Languages

The following steps are essential for retention and development of tribal linguistic heritage:

- i. Basic and original fieldwork and research on the tribal languages including transcription (recording) of the language materials in a systematic scientific fashion.
- ii. Descriptive grammars of the languages with phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, including unique traits of the structure of each language.
- iii. Preparation of bilingual/trilingual dictionaries from tribal languages to major regional language(s) and vice versa. There is an urgent need for pedagogical / comprehensive dictionaries.
- iv. *Collection of Texts*: Tribal lore consisting of folk tales, folk songs, narrations, idioms, proverbs, riddles and special expressions of discourse should be recorded, preserved and stored as linguistic corpus. It represents the indigenous traditional knowledge and humanity.
- v. Translation of tribal (oral) literature to other major Indian languages and English, and translation of important works of major languages into tribal languages should be taken up on priority basis as some of the genres are endangered under the threat of mass media.
- vi. Material production linguists in collaboration with educationists and psychologists can prepare primers and other textbooks in the tribal languages, which should be utilized in schools and adult education programmes.
- vii. Literacy development through production of materials in tribal languages with familiar content(s) as lessons. Here the oral literature can be accommodated as part of the reading materials.
- viii. Native speakers of the tribal languages (especially the literate ones) should be involved in the production of books through production-oriented workshops. These workshops are to be held in different parts of the country to cover each and every language group. Training in linguistic analysis and material production is to be imparted to the literate native speakers of tribal languages. The methodology of documentation has to be taught so that all the languages can be documented.

- ix. In selecting the languages for investigation and description, priority should be given to the languages spoken by a relatively small number of native speakers. This is essential as they are 'endangered' and might disappear in the near future.
- x. Liberal financial support may be provided to individual scholars, university departments, NGO-s and other organizations interested in and capable of conducting research work and production of books on tribal languages. Support to literary societies of the tribal people in the form of funds, books, etc. and also to organize literary festivals in tribal oral literature.
- xi. The new linguistic survey of India envisaged by the C.I.I.L. would provide much needed impetus for the maintenance and development of tribal languages, as it will involve original fieldwork.
- xii. Pressing need for a comprehensive, in-depth, multidisciplinary approach to tribal studies leading to preservation of language, literature, culture and indigenous traditional wisdom.

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ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS OF SPEECH PARAMETERS

B.B. RAJAPUROHIT

Mysore

Abstract

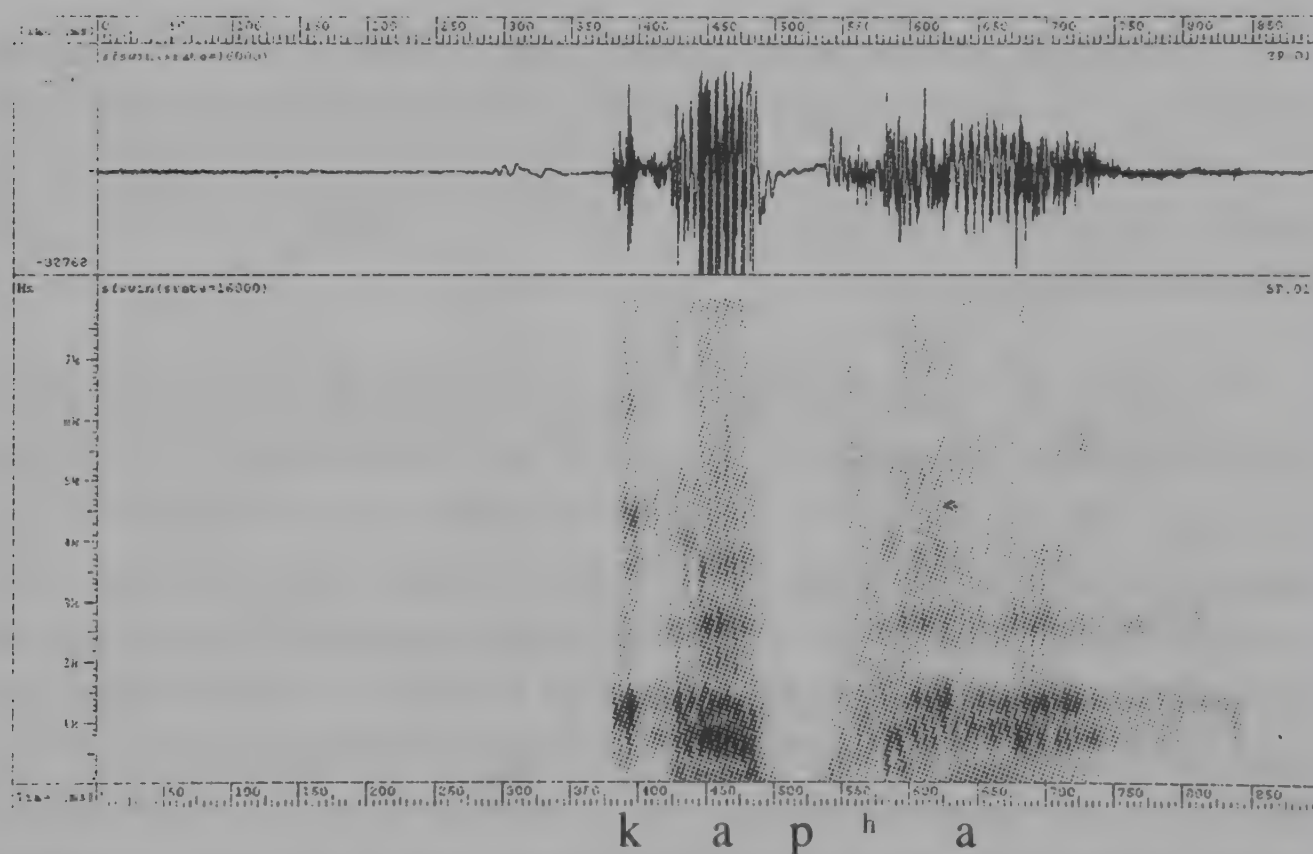
Although speech is a verbal communicative activity between individuals, for various reasons objective tools to analyse and understand the parameters of speech become necessary. These tools not only help the analysis of speech, but also throw light on the crucial problems which cannot be solved by hearing.

There are many modes of communication like writing a letter, expressing through gesture, recording and transmitting the spoken message, but live speech is the main medium of communication. It is also the experience of every one that the message to be communicated is better understood in the context of continuous speech rather than in the individual words. It is also true that what one hears through ears may not be reproduced exactly by one's articulatory apparatus. Yet in the day-to-day activity, hearing and comprehending the message and passing it on to others, go on. The problem arises only when the original speaker disowns the words that he is supposed to have said. In such cases of disputes, the techniques of voice identification can come to the rescue, provided that the spoken words on the disputed occasion are recorded.

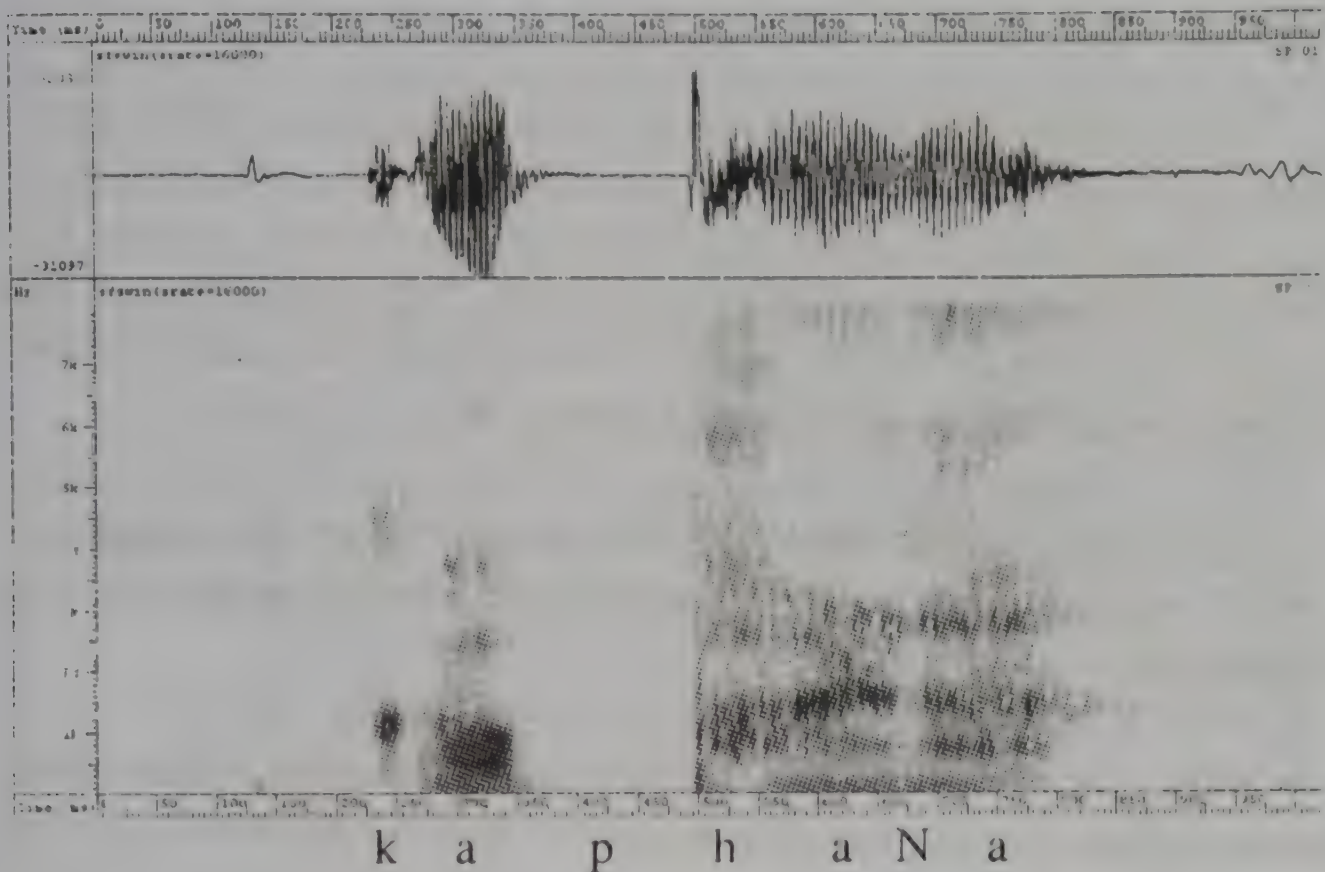
In the normal situation also the detailed acoustic study of speech can reveal many interesting features. For example, an oscillographic and spectrographic study of Kannada, conducted in the Leningrad State University, Russia, has revealed that there is no structural difference between h sound and the aspiration. But it is observed that h sound will be voiceless after voiceless consonants and optionally voiced

after voiced consonants. It was also noticed that the duration of h sound and aspiration are the same. But when h occurred as aspiration, it reduced the duration of the consonants on which it occurred by 25-60 % of their normal duration. In other words the duration of aspirated consonants is largely comparable to that of its unaspirated counterparts.

The above observation was confirmed when the instance of aspirated consonants was juxtaposed with the occurrence of consonants plus h. That is, where there is a juncture between the consonant and h. For example, notice the case of kap^ha 'phlegm' and kap#hana 'black money' in the picture below and the picture on p.25



Although it appears that in both the cases, p + h combination occurs, there is a difference. In the first single word, ph is an aspirated sound whereas in the second compound word there is a juncture between p and h sounds. This auditory observation is confirmed by acoustic examination above where the waveforms and the spectrograms of both the utterances are illustrated. In case of aspiration, the duration of p is about half of its duration, whereas in the second example, the duration of p is normal. In both the cases, the duration of h remains almost the same. The occurrence of normal duration of p in the second example acoustically attests that there is a juncture.



It was also observed in the acoustic study of Kannada that the VOT was the highest for k (30 ms) and it was followed by t (25 ms), p (20 ms) and ṭ (10 ms). It was further observed in the acoustic study of Kannada that the consonants b, d, g showed consistently less duration (about 75 % of the normal duration) between vowels (VCV) and that they are fricatives in that context, i.e. they are respectively, β , δ , γ . This fact was attested by the light markings of high frequency noise in the spectrograms. In the same environment, the retroflex stop ḍ showed up with much lower duration (about 50 % of its normal duration) to indicate that it was ṛ, a retroflex flap, in that context. It was also noticed that the flap sounds usually have very short duration. This feature was observed in the other case also. The trill r initially has the duration of about 50 ms, and its flap variety ɾ, occurs with the duration of about 20 ms elsewhere.

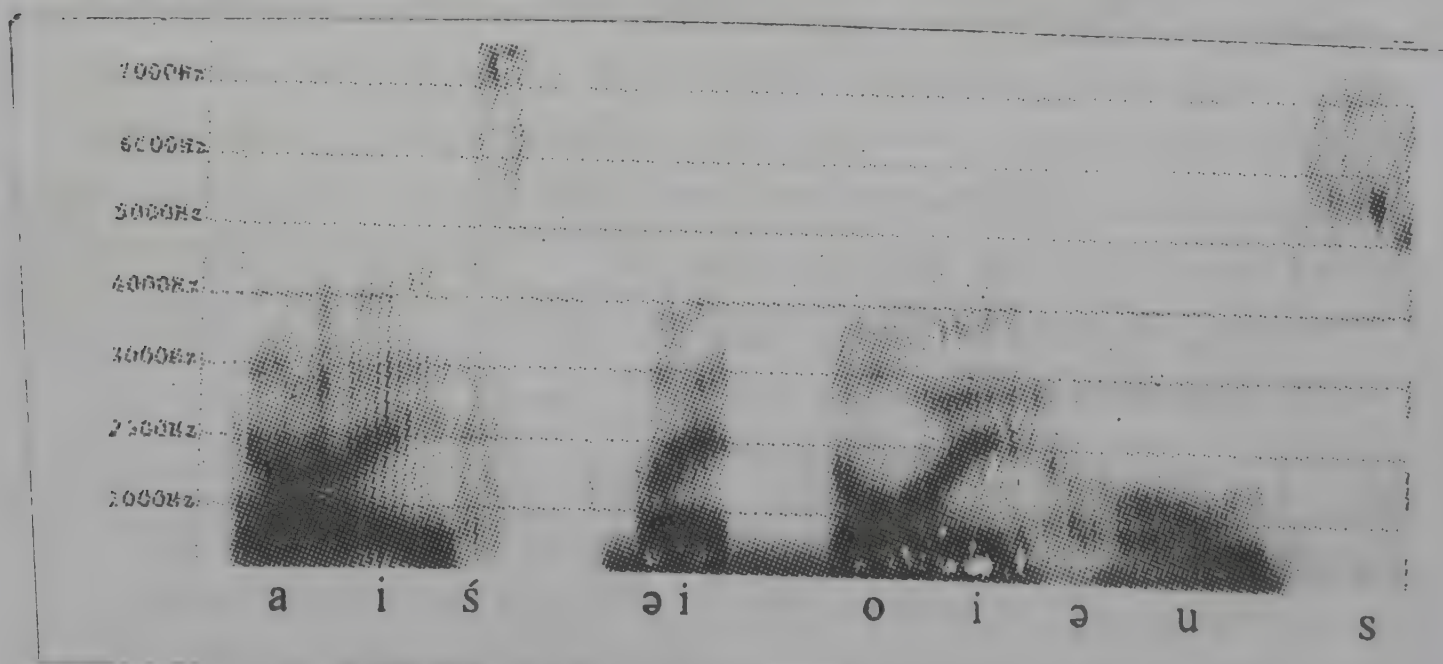
It was also observed that the long vowels had 180-230 % of duration of their short counterparts. Short vowels showed 50-70 % more duration in the final position than in their initial position when the vowel in the penultimate syllable was short. Most of the vowels showed their highest intensity in the medial position. They showed higher

intensity when followed and/or preceded by a nasal, liquid or a semivowel than when followed and/or preceded by a plosive or an affricate.

In the phonological description, the clusters of consonants imply that two consonants are articulated one after the other and there is no vowel release in between. But an acoustic examination of clusters has revealed that there is a vowel release of about 25-45 ms in between the consonants in cluster. On the basis of the formant frequencies of the released vowel, it was found to be of ə quality.

The above details attest the fact that for exact description of acoustic features of the spoken data, we need an oscillograph and the spectrograph.

Some years ago, there were only a few machines which were used for extracting the spectrograms. The most popular one among them was Sonagraph of Kay Elemetrics. Not only the machine, but the special kind of carbon embedded paper used for taking the spectrograms on this machine, had to be imported from the U.S.A. It was not an easy task to arrange for the foreign exchange and the import license in India. The Sonagraph was taking the narrow band or the wide band spectrograms very efficiently but it had a limitation that at one time an utterance of the duration of 2.4 seconds only could be taken. If the voice samples of longer duration were to be taken, the procedure of taking the bits of utterances of 2.4 seconds had to be repeated.



In the illustration (p. 4), the nonsense syllables are spectrographed on Sonagraph of Kay Elemetrics. On the left side, the frequency levels are marked vertically by the analyst. On horizontal scale, the time is displayed. The analyst had to devise his own scale to measure the duration of segments. This was the situation a few years ago. But the latest model Kay Sona-Graph DSP 5500 does most of the required analyses on the computerised machine with the display on the screen. The UCLA Phonetics Lab also extensively uses this machine.

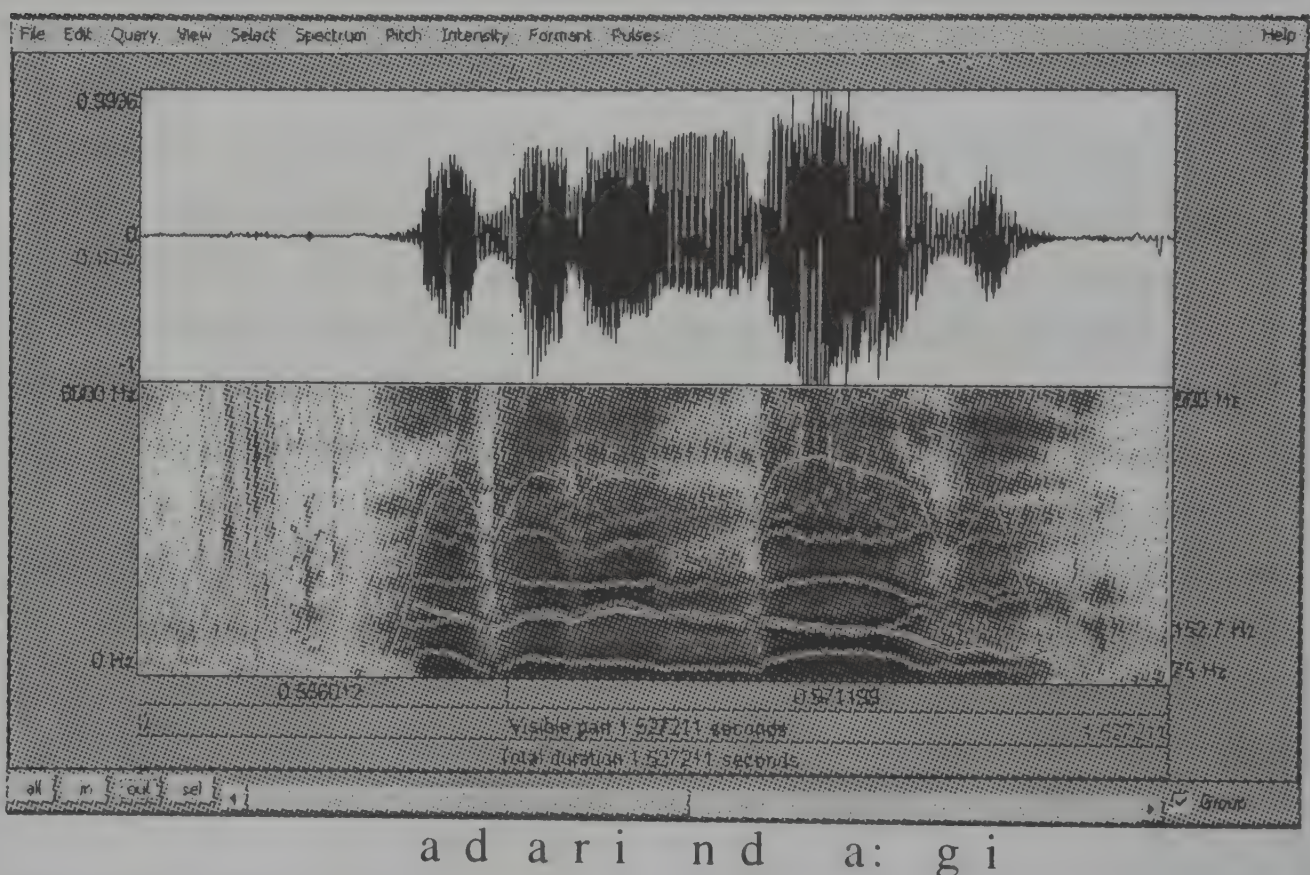
With the advent of computers, very efficient and freely downloadable programmes are available to extract the spectrograms of continuous utterance up to a few minutes. A brief description of these programmes may serve as useful information.

The most popular and very efficient software is the Praat. It is freely downloadable from the site www.praat.org site. This was developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink of Netherlands in 2003. This programme can give a lot of acoustic information about speech. As soon as the sound is recorded through the microphone attached to the computer or through the line-in controls, it can give the spectrograms along with its waveform at 'edit' command. If the analyst chooses, it can also give the pitch and intensity curves along with formant markings. It can also display, on command, the spectrum and the formant frequency figures up to more than 6 places after the decimal. One has to use it to understand its capabilities. It is a very useful tool for an acoustic phonetician.

The printing of the spectrograms in Praat with all the information about formants, pitch and intensity is not directly possible. It would be easy if the computer has a postscript printer. However printing of the wave form and the spectrograms with information about pitch and intensity is possible by selecting the display and copying it to the clipboard and pasting it in Adobe Photoshop or any other such application. Thus the display can be printed on any printer attached to computer.

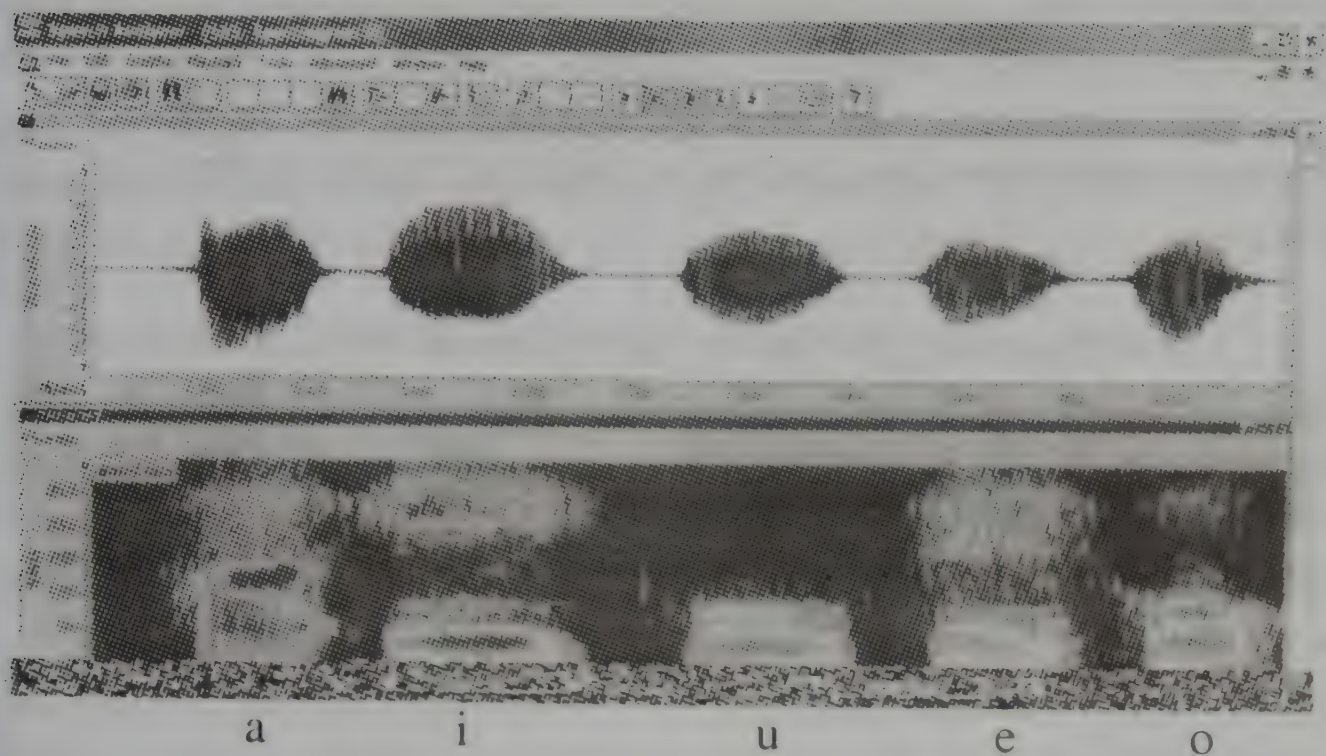
In order to illustrate the type of spectrogram that can be taken from Praat, a Kannada utterance 'adarinda:gi' was recorded. The above portion of the picture is the oscillogram in which short and long varieties of 'a' are clearly distinguished. Medial d and g have short

duration because they are δ and γ in that context. r also has extra short duration. It is also possible to mark the pulse beats of the vocal chords in the oscillogram. The below portion is the spectrogram. The Praat program has marked the formants along with pitch and intensity curves. The transcription is given at the bottom of the picture to show which portion of the display corresponds to which sound segment. Praat can give many more information like F_1 , F_2 and F_3 figures unto more than 6 digits after decimal, for detailed analysis of speech. The upper frequency level of the spectrogram is adjustable. However, the analyst has to determine what he needs to know.

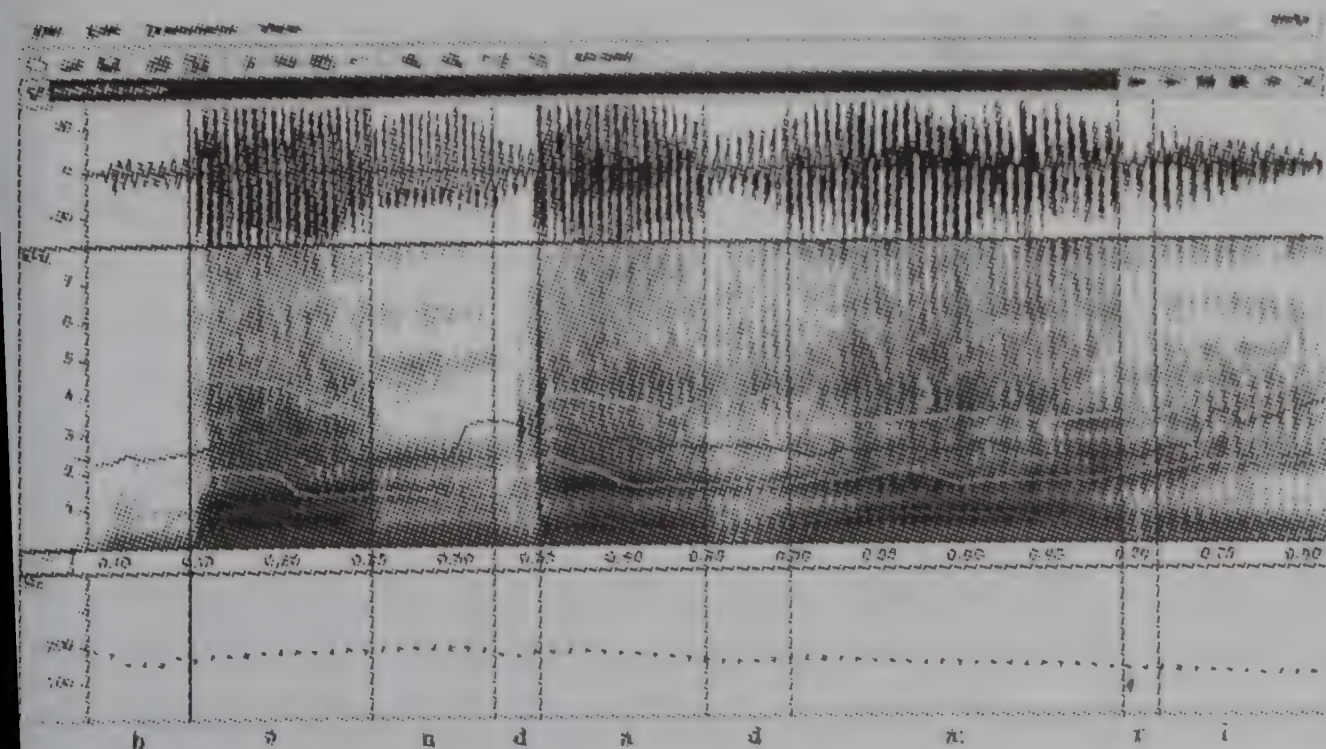


Speech Analyser is another software developed by the Summer Institute in Linguistics, Waxhaw, U.S.A. This is also freely downloadable from www.speech-analyzer.org site. It is also a very good programme. It gives the spectrograms only in colour. There are options to choose the mode of different display.

The utterance (p.29) illustrates five major vowels of Kannada. The display of the waveforms can be zoomed to give still more clarity. Sometimes the colour confuses the identification of the formants and their shapes. Speech Analyzer can also record the utterances of a few minutes and display the waveform and spectrograms.

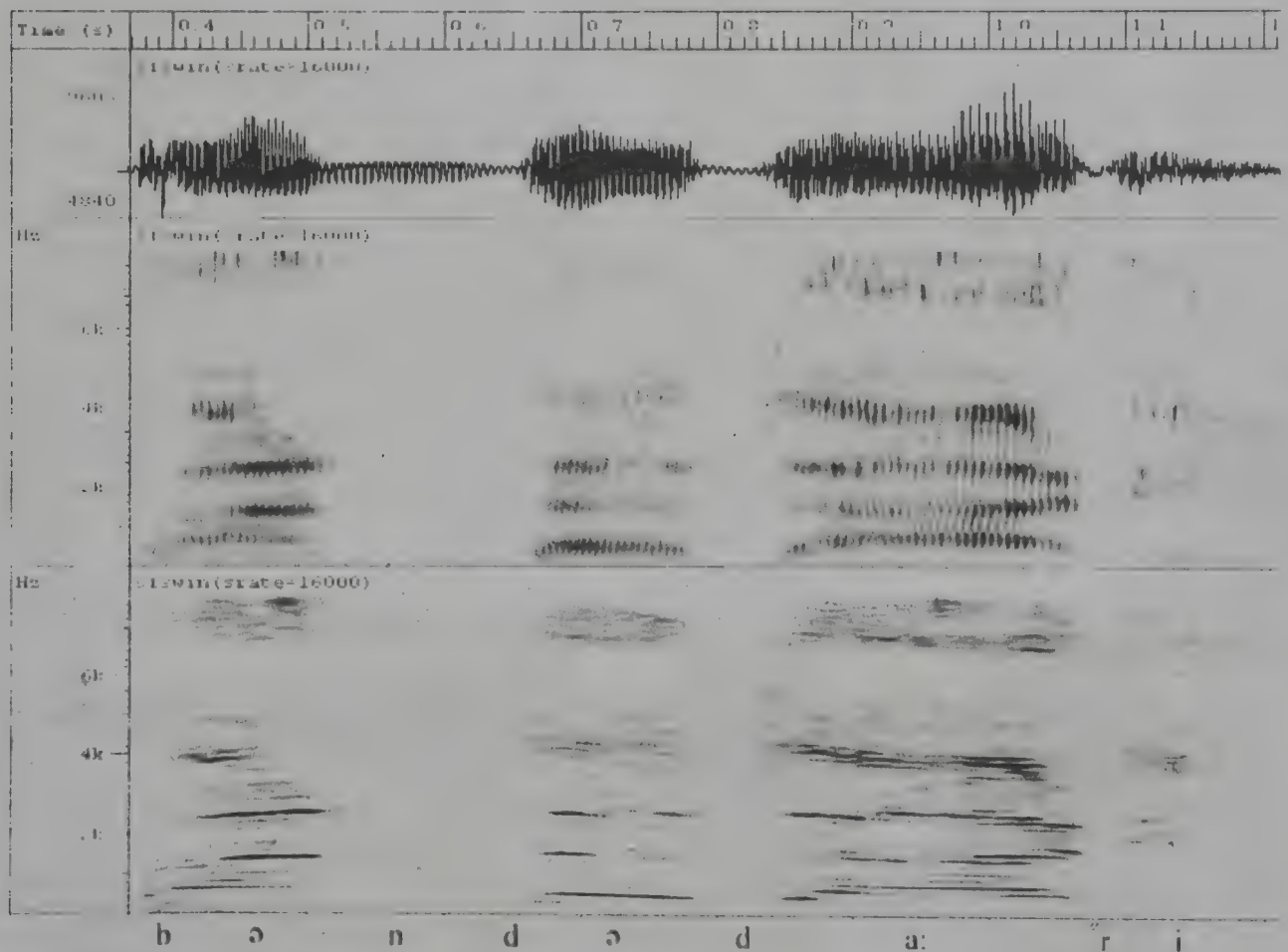


Wave Surfer is yet another software which is developed by Kåre Sjölander and Jonas Beskow at the Centre for Speech Technology (CTT), Stockholm in 2006. This is also freely downloadable from www.wave-surfer.org site. Although it requires a bit of acquaintance to operate it and it appears to be unfriendly for use, in the beginning. It can also do all the major analyses required and is also capable of recording the utterance of a few minutes. It has an option of getting the spectrograms in colour or in black and white. Printing of the display is difficult here also, because it can create only a postscript file for printing. However, a sample spectrogram of a Kannada utterance 'bōnda da:ri' meaning 'the road (by which one) came' is given below to



illustrate the type of spectrogram the Wave Surfer can take. It was possible to illustrate it here, by taking the Ghost View of the display. It was copied and pasted in Adobe Photoshop and the editing of the display, marking the segments and indicating the transcription was done there.

Yet another software by the name Speech Filing System (SFS), freely downloadable from www.speechfiling.org site, and it is developed by Mark Huckvale of the University College, London in 2004. It is a simple programme which is very much user friendly and gives all the acoustic information required. The display of the wave form and the spectrogram can be copied directly into other applications like Adobe Photoshop for editing and making the picture sharper and marking the segments. This software is very much convenient for acoustic analysis of speech.



The picture above is of the same Kannada utterance 'bānda da:ri' taken in SFS, to make a comparison with the above display of Wave Surfer. The pitch and intensity curves are not marked but the wide band and narrow band spectrograms are displayed along with the

waveform. The wide-band spectrogram displays the formants and the narrow-band spectrogram shows the harmonics along with the formants, spread over the frequency range of 0 to 7 KHz. The technique of identifying what portion of the picture corresponds to what sound, needs a lot of skill, experience and practice.

However, the sound segments marked at the bottom of the picture, correspond to respective form in the spectrogram. Generally vertical lines are marked by the analyst, as done in the above picture, to show the sound segments involved in the utterance. They are not marked in the second picture because it was intended to keep the original display intact. The long vowel 'a:' can be very easily distinguished from the other short ones, in duration. Although the formant figures of 'ə' and 'a' are comparable, they are distinct and different.

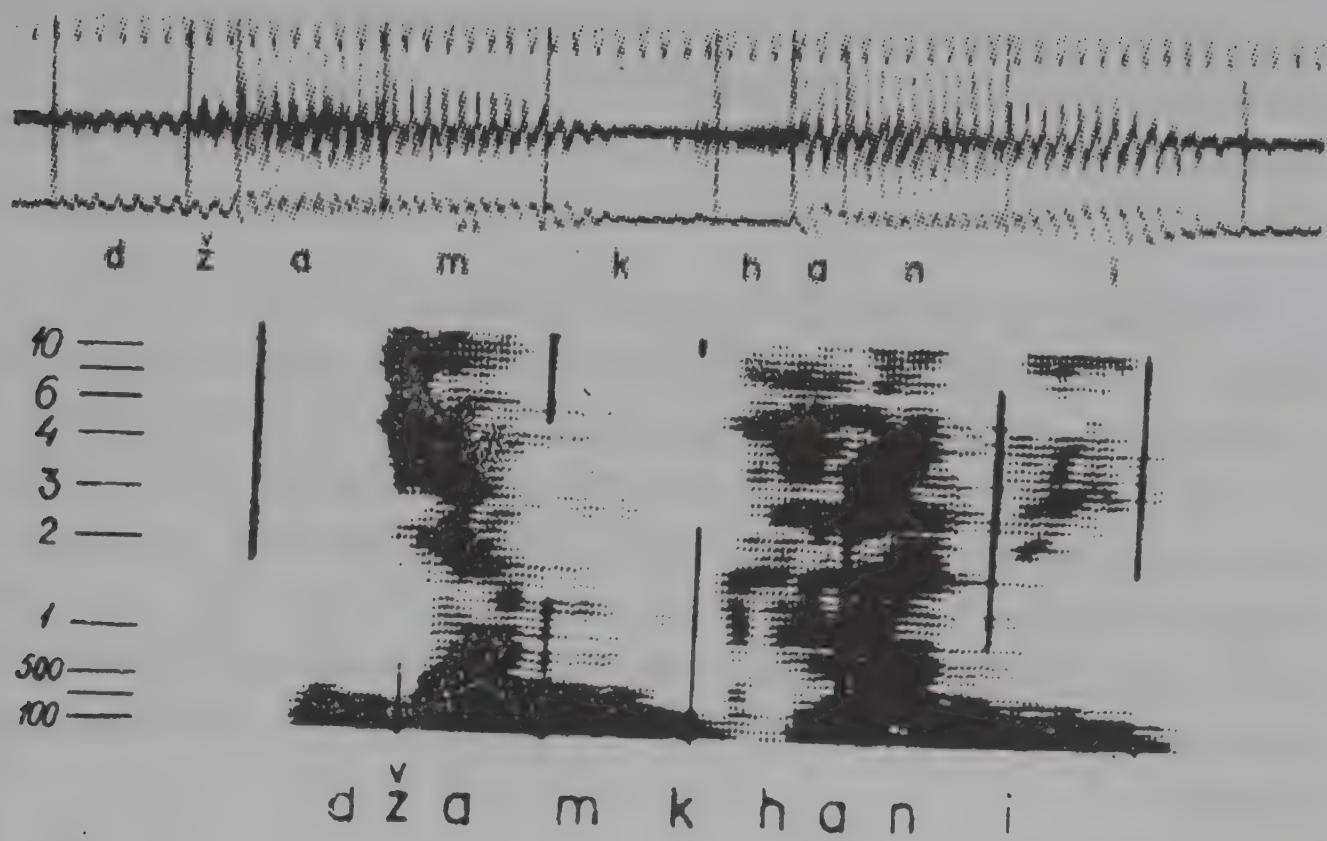
With the help of any one of these four freely downloadable programmes, the acoustic analysis of speech can be done quite accurately and efficiently on any computer.

Russian method of Acoustic Analysis

I had an opportunity of doing the oscillographic and spectrographic study of Kannada sounds in the Department of Phonetics of Leningrad State University, USSR, (present Petrograd, Russia) in 1978-79. A detailed report of that research work is published by the Central Institute of Indian Languages in the book: *Acoustic Characteristics of Kannada*, in 1982.

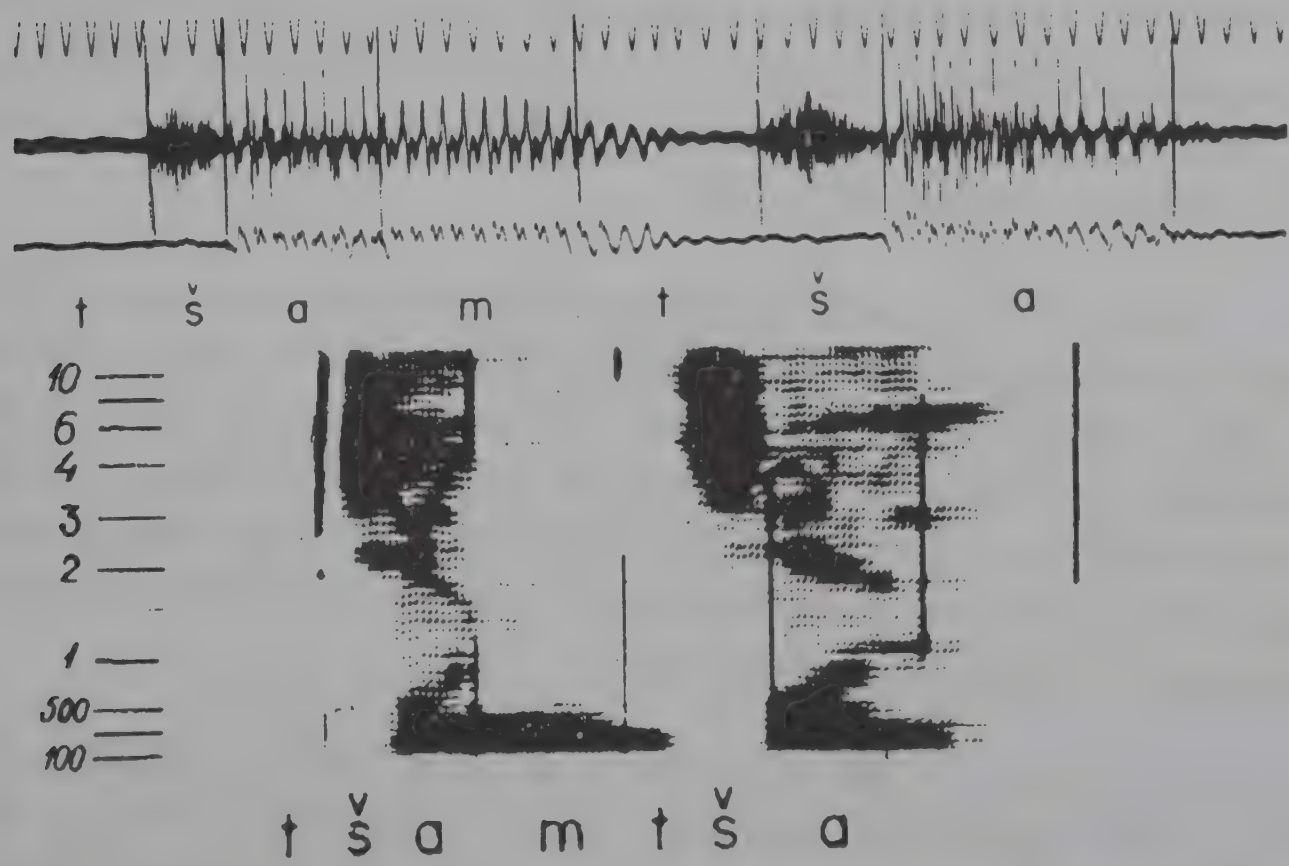
A list of 405 words was prepared in such a way that all the sounds were occurring in all the positions. The words were recorded on a high quality tape recorder and the oscillograms of the entire recording were taken on 35mm film. The length of the film was about 200 metres. The segmentation of the waveform corresponding to the respective sounds was performed and the duration and other features of Kannada sounds were generalised.

The picture (p. 32) shows the oscillogram and the spectrogram of the word 'ḍamk^hani' meaning a carpet. The voiced affricate ḍ having the stop portion and fricative portion is clearly visible in both the



displays. The duration of second 'a' is shorter than the first one although it is long in orthography. This is due to the fact that in pronunciation the penultimate vowels have the tendency of becoming shorter in duration.

Another example of 'tfamtfa:' meaning spoon may be seen below. Here also the voiceless affricate tf having the stop portion and



the fricative portion is clearly visible in both the displays. In this case, the duration of the second 'a' is longer than the first one and it conforms to the orthography. It also attests the fact that the word final vowels tend to be longer.

Out of 35 mm of the film, the upper and lower perforations were taking away 11 mm and the waveforms and the spectrograms were printed in the space of 24 mm in the middle. On the top of the oscillogram, the time scale at the interval of 10 ms is marked. The machine which was extracting the spectrograms was filtering the frequency range from 100 Hz to 10,000 Hz in 48 channels. The Koenig scale, used for measuring the frequencies of formants is printed on the left extreme of the spectrogram display. In this scale, the relationship of frequency is linear from 100 Hz to 1000 Hz and it is logarithmic from 1000 Hz to 10,000 Hz. Since the visibility of the formants was not clear on the film, a microfilm reader was used to magnify the display.

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**KERALA PAANINIIYAM OF
A.R. RAJA RAJA VARMA**

C.J. Roy (Tr.), 1999, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. xxviii + 332,
Rs. 400/- (US\$ 40/-)

The original work is a classic in Malayalam grammatical literature. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there were no compeers to A.R. in any of the South Indian languages. A.R. had an analytical mind. Though well-versed in Paniniyam, he did not follow it blindly. Wherever Paniniyam was not found applicable, he took an independent course of analysis.

The English translation enhances the merit of the original, providing an unambiguous understanding of it with maximum accuracy. An excellent translation of a difficult but most valuable text.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TAMIL LANGUAGE

S.V. SHANMUGAM

Annamalainagar

Tamil is one of the major Dravidian languages spoken as a majority language in the state of Tamil Nadu, India and as a minority language in Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore and Mauritius.

Tamil has the oldest written document among the Indian languages, next only to Sanskrit. The earliest written documents are found from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D. in the form of short inscriptions written in the modified form of Asokan Brahmi script. Recent research has shown the existence of some early writing system but it is not possible to decipher properly. The earliest written literary works are called by the name Sangam (lit. academy) anthologies mainly on the themes of war and love and the earliest extant grammatical work is Tolka:ppiyam which describes not only the structure of language but also the structure of poetry, literary themes and conventions and it belongs to this period. Even though most of the native scholars including linguists are of the opinion that Tolka:ppiyam is anterior of most of the Sangam anthologies, many foreign Tamil scholars and some native scholars who have studied both the literature and the grammar from the sociological and the comparative points of view opine that Tolka:ppiyam is posterior to the Sangam anthologies because the grammar is an aid to the study of literature. Recent study of the development of the functions of the language from the point of view of sociology of language confirms only the later view and also gives certain clues for the development of a grammar (See Shanmugam, 1989). These works may belong to the beginning of the Christian era and this is early stage of the Old Tamil period. From the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the end of the 5th century A.D., a few epics and ethical works were written and this is the later stage of the Old Tamil period.

The written documents in the forms of inscriptions, literary works, commentaries and grammars are available continuously and profusely in the later periods. Therefore as usual, the later periods are divided into the Middle Tamil period that consists of the beginning of the 5th century A.D. to the end of 16th century A.D., and the modern or New Tamil period, from the beginning of the 17th century A.D.

The Middle Tamil period can be subdivided into Early Middle Tamil period comprising of A.D. 500-850, Middle Middle Tamil period comprising of A.D. 850-1200 and Late Middle Tamil period comprising of A.D. 1200-1600. These three sub-periods can be equated with the dominant political and literary history. The early Middle Tamil period is the period of Pallava-Pandyas from the point of view of political history and it is the period of devotional literature sung by Saiva and Vaishnava poets. The Middle Tamil period is of the later Cholas and major epics and minor literary genres. The late Middle Tamil is of the period of the Nayaks and the period of commentaries, philosophical works and minor literary genres. There are also many grammars both for the language and the literature written during the period.

The modern or New Tamil period starts with the period when the western influence in the Tamil society began to be felt in the social and cultural fields. The minor literary genres based on the folk themes were written during the early period. During this period, Tamil came to have many grammars written in the western languages by the Christian missionaries. The beginning of the 20th century marks the later phase of modern Tamil. It is unique in many respects.

The historical development of any language is generally divided into two major periods, viz. i. prehistory which explains the special developments taken place in a language which are responsible to differentiate the particular language from other genetically related languages and ii. recorded history which explains the development of the structure from the period of the earliest written documents to the modern period.

Tamil as noted above belongs to the Dravidian linguistic family and within the family, it is closely related to the other South Dravidian languages, viz. Tulu, Kannada, Kodagu, Kota, Toda and Malayalam and so they form one subgroup. The south Dravidian languages are

structurally different from other two major groups, viz. Central Dravidian and North Dravidian languages by the absence of initial *c-* in many words like *ayntu* < **cayntu* 'five', *a:ru* < **ca:ru* 'six' and the development of separate feminine forms in the human nouns and verbs like *aval* 'she', *vanta:l* 'she came', *pa:tiṇa:l* 'she sang' distinct from the human masculine *avan vanta:n* 'he came' and non-human singular *atu vantatu* 'it came'.

" Among the South Dravidian languages, Malayalam and Tamil are closely related and they share many innovations like the change of initial *k-* to *c-* when followed by the front vowels: *cevi* < **kevi* 'car', *ciri* < **kiri* 'laugh', use of *-ma:r*, the shortened form of the word, *maka:r* 'children or people' as the human plural suffix and the use of the words *nu:ru* 'hundred', *a:yiram* 'thousand' to denote 'ten' and 'hundred' respectively in the words for *tonṇu:ru* 'ninety' and *tolla:yiram* 'nine hundred'. Malayalam became an independent language from 10th century A.D. with some independent innovations like the nasalization of the plosives preceded by the nasals, *te:nṇa:* < *te:nka:y* 'coconut', *vannu* < *vantu* 'having come' and the loss of person termination in the finite verbs. But Malayalam has retained some archaic features which have changed in Tamil. The change of *i* into *u* in the oblique form of the second person plural pronoun in Tamil (*num* < **nim*, Mal. *ninṇal* 'you (pl)') and the change *ñ* into *n*-initially (Ta. *na:nal* < **ñā:nal* Mal. *n* 'string') and the replacement of the masculine singular suffix *-kkan* by *-van*, (Ta. *ciruvan* Mal. *kirukkan* 'boy'). Tamil has also retained many archaic features not preserved in Malayalam.

The historical period of Tamil, as noted above, is divided into Old Tamil, Middle Tamil and Modern or New Tamil. Some of the linguistic peculiarities and changes characteristic of each period are noted below.

Even though the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are the oldest written documents, the language is peculiar and is deviant in many respects from the literary language of the Sangam anthologies. There are a lot of vowel clusters of two different vowels. These inscriptions are mainly useful to study the creation of writing system in Tamil and also to the study of lexicon. Therefore the structure of Old Tamil discussed below is mainly based on the literary language.

There are twelve vowels, viz. *a*, *a:*, *i*, *i:*, *u*, *u:*, *e*, *e:*, *ai*, *o*, *o:* and *au*. *ai* and *au* are diphthongs and the diphthongs are considered phonemic on the morphophonemic level. There are 18 consonants, viz. *k*, *ñ*, *c*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *ṛ* (alveolar stop) *ṇ*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ* and *ḷ* (six stops, six nasals and six intermediaries including two semivowels, one flap, and three laterals). There is another grapheme now used even in the Old texts, called *a:ytam* to represent phonetically the double fricative of following plosives.

In the vowel system, the sequence of \bar{V}_1 , V_1 (long vowel followed by the identical short vowel) is somewhat common. But they could be derived from different sequences in the base form. All the vowels could occur initially and finally. Among the consonants, the velar, retroflex and alveolar nasals do not occur initially. In the final position, all the consonants except stops occur.

Even though there are some morphological contrasts between masculine and feminine in the human nouns, the gender is a selective category. There is totally five-way contrast: masculine singular, feminine singular (both are found only in the human nouns), epicene plural (human plural), neuter singular and neuter plural. In the finite verbs, they are represented by the personal terminations and so there is a concord of gender - number between the subject and predicate.

Nine cases in the nouns, viz. nominative, accusative, instrumental, sociative, dative, comparative*, genitive, locative and vocative could be recognized.

In the verbal bases, there is a morphological contrast between non-ergative and ergative in some verbs (*o:tu* 'run', *o:ttu* 'drive') and this is different from the causative. In Old Tamil, there are two tenses only, viz. past and non-past. There are morphologically three verbal participles, viz. *ceytu* 'having done' consisting of the verbal root and the past tense suffix, *ceya* 'to do' (the verbal root and suffix *-a*, infinitive) and *ceyin* 'if did' (the verbal root and suffix *-in*, conditional).

Old Tamil is marked by the presence *-p-* in the infinitives and conditional in the strong verbs like *naṭa* 'walk' (*naṭappa* 'to walk' and *naṭappin* 'if walked'). The conditional verbal participle is *ceyin* and not *ceyta:l* (root, past tense and the suffix *a:l*).

One of the lexical peculiarities of Old Tamil is the words of direction especially for east, *kunakku* 'east' and for west, *kutakku* for the modern forms *kilakku* and *me:rkku* respectively. This change actually has taken place in the late Old Tamil itself.

The language of the Old Tamil is not monolithic and Tolka:ppiyam has recognized twelve regional dialects theoretically. The linguistic analysis of the texts shows at least four different dialects from the structural point of view.

The standard dialect seems to have based on the southern regional dialect because a large number of poets of this period had hailed from this region and the Tamil was associated with Madurai, the capital of Pandya kingdom and Vaigai, the major river in the Pandya country.

The literary Middle Tamil was developed not only through the evolution of Old Tamil forms such as the loss of initial *y-* in the words like *a:ru* < *ya:ru* 'river', *a:tu* < *ya:tu* 'goat' but also through the acceptance of many forms which were considered as purely colloquial such as *ni:nkal* 'you' (pl.), *carakku* 'goods'. The latter aspect implies the change of standard dialect of the Middle Tamil.

Phonemically, the distinction between the dental and alveolar nasal should have lost and they become allophones of one phoneme. The alveolar stop should have changed into alveolar trill during this period. But of six nasals, only three nasals, *m*, *ṇ* (retroflex) and *n* (alveolar) occur finally. The diphthongs also lost their phonemic status and they could be now equated with the combination *a + y* for *ai* and *a + v* for *av*. Another noteworthy development in the Middle Tamil period was the development of separate present tense suffix, *kinru/kiru* in the finite verbs as well as in the relative participle which is also attested in a few cases in Late Old Tamil itself. The use of the consonant *-k-* in the strong verbs (*natakka* 'to walk') in the infinitive form became more common. So also, the use of *ceyta:l* pattern for the conditional participle.

Another evolutionary change in this period is the extension of Old Tamil the neuter plural suffix *-kal* to all plural forms as additional suffix in the personal termination of the verbs (*o:mkal* in the first

person, *i:rkāl* in the second person, *a:rkāl* in the third person) and nouns (*na:ṇkāl* 'we', *ni:ṇkāl* 'you' (pl) *aracarkāl* 'king') and as a regular suffix in the human nouns (*munikāl* 'saints', *a:ṇkāl* 'males'). The use of *-in* as the comparative suffix became lesser and lesser and the suffix *-il* became more common as the locative suffix.

A number of modern Tamil forms such as *pe:cu* 'speak', *tirutu* 'steal', *vi:tu* 'house' which are really native are at least only in the Middle Tamil literature. Another interesting feature of the Middle Tamil literature is *-c-* forms instead of old Tamil *-y-* forms. E.g. *ucir* < *uyir* 'soul', *kucavan* < *kuyavan* 'potter'. This tendency has been extended to the loan words also. The poetess A:ṇṭa:l has used the form *kiricai* for *kiriyai* 'action' which is in Sanskrit *kriya*:. In the native forms, *-c-* forms are considered historically older than *-y-* forms. These are responsible for the consideration of the change of standard dialect from the southern dialect in the Old Tamil period to the central dialect in the Middle Tamil period. This is supported by the fact that three major poets of the early Middle Tamil period are from the central region and the total number of poets from the Paṇḍya region is lesser in number than the poets of other regions. Madurai lost its political and cultural importance in the Middle Tamil period.

At the lexical level, more number of Sanskrit words was borrowed in the Middle Tamil period, so the grammars of the Middle Tamil have discussed the fashion of adaptations of the Sanskrit words. Another change is the change in the inventory of graphemes especially in the literary language.

The so-called grantha graphemes are found to be used in most of the Tamil inscriptions even from the early Middle Tamil period. But they were avoided in the literary language up to the 14th century. Arunakirina:tar of 15th century has used the graphemes *h*, *j*, *s*, *ṣ*, *kṣ* and *śri* to write the Sanskrit words and this custom of using of non-native graphemes is being continued till date.

Modern Tamil starts with the contact of the westerners first started at the commercial level and then at the political level. The introduction of printing and the use of prose as the literary medium were responsible for the modernization of the language. The language and the literature became more internationalised or globalized as in

other languages of India. New registers were also developed. Because of borrowing from the European languages, *f*, the voiceless labiodental fricative and many voiced stops became phonemic. Since the use of the grapheme for *a:ytam* had become almost extinct in the Middle Tamil period, the combination of the symbols for *a:ytam* and the bilabial stop *p* came to be used to represent the sound *f*. The sounds *r* and *l* which were prohibited initially in the Old Tamil and Middle Tamil periods began to occur initially during this period. The word *avarkaḷ* which itself is a double plural is now added after the personal nouns to denote respect.

Morphologically the case of auxiliary verbs is very common and frequent in modern Tamil. The number distinction in the negative neuter finite verbs is now lost. It is to be noted that in Old Tamil, nouns do not differentiate the number contrast but the finite verbs do differentiate the number contrast: *paravai* 'bird/birds', *parantatu* 'flies', *parantana* 'fly'. This is grammatically called *pa:lpak:akṛiṇaiippeyar* (number neutralization in the noun) but in modern Tamil the situation has changed especially in the negative plural finite verbs, i.e. the nouns have number distinctions but not the finite verbs: *paravai* 'bird', *paravaikaḷ* 'birds', *parakka:tu* 'will not fly' and this should be called *pa:lpak:akṛiṇaivinai* (number neutralization in the verb).

Modern syntax is more complicated. Adjective/adverb occur in the predicate spot. E.g. *kiṭaippatu arumai* 'availability (is) rare', *o:ṭuvatu kaṣṭam* 'running is difficult'. Modern syntax is influenced by English.

There are many significant changes in the 20th century Tamil. Conscious language planning is the hallmark of this century. So new registers are being developed. As a first step, thousands of technical terms are created. In the coinage of technical terms, the internal creation and not borrowing is the special feature of Tamil. The government of Tamil Nadu is directly helping in this regard. The government has recently introduced a script reform regularizing the allographs of the secondary symbols for the vowels *a:* and *ai*. But there are many scholars working for the regularization of the other irregular secondary symbols. Many scholars are of the opinion that some new graphemes to represent the voiced stop phonemes should be introduced.

Many new books are now being written in many new fields of science and technology. So the rate of change in the structure is faster than in the previous centuries, and Tamil is struggling hard to become the vehicle of modern thought and culture. In the beginning of the 21st century, one can say that Tamil has achieved the status of developed language in the popular writings and not in the scientific writing.

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A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF A DIALECT OF TAMIL

V.I. Subramoniam, 2003, HB, Demy 1/8,
pp. xiv+85, Rs. 170/- (US\$ 17/-)

The thesis used only by researchers in the Kerala University and later in the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, has come out now in attractive format. When voicing of the written script is now attempted in several centres, its acoustic study helps to determine the voicing of the Tamil sounds. A pathfinding thesis completed in 1957.

FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS IN MODERN TAMIL^{*}

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Abstract

Use of the suffixes -dān and -ē in Tamil always requires further study for the reason that one cannot always make a distinct and unique description of how they behave in a number of different circumstances. This paper attempts to examine how Tamil speakers construe of these two suffixes and use them both in isolation and in combination in order to mark a distinctively identifiable discourse element of 'focus'. Appropriate syntactic tests are employed not only to illustrate how such pragmatically motivated constructions fit in speech context, and also to identify their significant role in discourse.

1.1. Introduction

Recent works on pragmatics - information structure - have shown beyond doubt that languages have many means to bring to focus any part or constituent of an utterance as more significant than others. Studies on such dichotomies like 'topic-comment, theme-rheme, topic-focus' etc., have shown that these pragmatic notions play an important role in determining the theories of language structure, communication and discourse. In general topic and focus are understood as grammaticalized pragmatic functions. These discourse devices are organized under the concept of 'information packaging principle'. If the 'information structure' of any expression does not correlate to 'information Packaging' as required by any given context,

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the expression is considered to be infelicitous in the respective context. Different languages employ many strategies such as syntax, morphology, prosody or a combination of these to encode the focus structure.

The semantic roles of foci and their morphosyntactic structures in Tamil are an area to be investigated in detail. The scope of the present study is limited to the use of the two particles namely *-dān* and *-ē* in the context of their discourse functions in modern spoken Tamil. We concentrate on the following two important strategies of marking focus: 1) insertion of focus particles *-dān* and *-ē* and combination of these two forms, either as *-dānē* or *-ēdān* and 2) nominalization of verbal predicates (cleft focus). We will also concentrate on some other discourse functions (speaker's attitude, appreciation, causal relations) as expressed by these two particles.

Tamil is a diglossic language with a high degree of distinction between spoken and written varieties. Data for this paper are chosen mainly from modern spoken Tamil, which shows much relevance to 'focus' as a discourse function when compared to written Tamil. It is important to note that intonation (accent, pitch) plays a crucial role along with discourse particles in conveying a set of pragmatic nuances. But such features are not readily expressible in written variety of Tamil.

It is commonly understood that in any question-answer pairs there is a correlation between the constituent of 'question' and the corresponding constituent on 'focus'. Hence, in this paper we employ a set of sentences mainly involving question-answer pairs to illustrate how 'focus' in Tamil is expressed in various circumstances. Focus can fall on any constituent of a sentence: argument, verbal predicate, adjective and adverbial phrase. However, there seems to occur certain restrictions on how these particles are used to denote a particular nuance of meaning. We will specifically examine how these restrictions play an important role in the context of syntactic and semantic functions.

1.2. Focus in Tamil: theoretical framework

In the literature on 'information structure' different definitions are proposed with divergence among scholars (Dryer 1996, König 1997,

Lambrecht 1994). In the present work, however, we use the term 'focus' in its widest possible sense to circumvent the Tamil data. We consider the term 'focus' to be the 'highlighted part' of any given utterance -whether it is newly introduced or something that is already expressed - which is mainly employed to further the knowledge of the addressee. The distinction between old and new information does not seem to be a straightforward gauge in this context. It is generally accepted that there exists two broad categories of focus namely 'identificational focus' and 'informational focus' (É. Kiss 1998).¹ As it will appear, a clear distinction between 'presupposition' and 'common ground' seems important to deal with Tamil data. The notion of presupposition is understood as a feature that concerns only the speaker but not shared by the participants in the discourse. On the contrary, the common ground represents beliefs that are mutually recognized and shared by the participants in a discourse.² Various notions, such as 'new information', 'old information', 'presupposition', 'assertion', 'shared knowledge', 'identificational focus' etc. as used in this work are primarily an adaptation of the definitions as given in Lambrecht 1994, Kiss 1998 and Stalnaker 2002.

1.3. Earlier studies in Tamil

Earlier studies on these two suffixes identify them either as 'emphatic' or 'intensive' markers. The set of suffixes that are studied under this definition include: *-dān*³ 'oneself' *-ē* 'only'; *-mat̤tum* 'only'; *-um* 'also'; *-ō* 'dubiousness' and *ā* 'interrogative'. Even though some of these studies evoke pragmatic notions like 'new vs. old information', 'shared knowledge', 'presupposed knowledge', they do not distinguish clearly how the different pragmatic functions of these particles are

1. For a detailed view on focus see Lambrecht 1994 :206-215). For example "The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON RECOVERABLE element in an utterance" (Lambrecht 1994 p.207).

2. For discussions see Dryer 1996, Stalnaker 2002.

3. Note that the form *-dān* is the phonological variant of *tān*. In Tamil the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants is not a distinctive feature and any inter-voclic occlusive will be pronounced as voiced. Through out this paper we will use the form *-dān*.

expressed (Andronov 1989:241-248; Arokianathan 1981;⁴ Chevillard 1997; Lehman 1993:150-162; Schiffman 2002:192-194). We emphasize in this paper how morphosyntactic devices play an important role in determining the discourse functions of the two particles *-dān* and *-ē* in the context of the principles of information structure.

1.4. A diachronic view on *-dān* and *-ē*

It is important to note that the two particles namely *-dān* and *-ē* are polysemous and are used from the Old Tamil period onwards with different grammatical and discursive functions.⁵ Even though a historical study of these particles is not within the scope of the present study, a brief note on their use in what is called 'self reflexive constructions' in Modern Tamil seems to be relevant for our present analysis. Let us consider the following examples before we discuss further in detail the use of these two particles *-dān* and *-ē* in focus constructions. Specifically the particle *-dān* owes its origin to **tān*, which is a 3rd person singular human pronoun; and it also functions as a reflexive anaphor. The emphatic particle *-ē* is also used as self-reflexive suffix.

The particle *-ē* can be added to any personal pronoun: *nān* 'I' > *nānē* 'myself', *avan* 'he' > *avanē* 'himself' and so on. But the reflexive meaning is possible only if the predicate of the sentence contains the reflexive auxiliary *koḷ*. Otherwise, it would imply only the meaning of 'emphasis', as in 1. *avan pēsinān* (he-talk.past.3.m.s) 'he talked'; 2) *avanē pēsinān* (he.ē-talk.past.3.m.s) even he talked; 3. *avanē pēsikkonḍān* (he.ē-talk.padv.aux.ref) 'he talked to himself'.

Note that in the following sentence, the third person singular pronoun *tān* 'self' occurs twice:

4. "The term focusive can be justified to some extent based on their functions which result in one way or other in focusing attention on the host to which they are added" (Arokianathan 1981:3).

5. Rajam enumerates different functions of these particles in Classical Tamil poetry. Regarding the particle *ē* she says: "It is the most widely used particle in this period and its various meanings are not easily distinguished." According to her the particle *ē*, in addition to narrative functions, is used with different meanings: emphasis, simultaneity, rhetorical question marker and also used as adverb of manner. For the particle *-tān*, only two functions are attested: emphasis and reflexive. (Rajam V.S. 1992: 408-412 and 419-420).

1. *kamalā tanakku tānē pēsikkoṇḍē samaikka*
 PN self.dat self.emp speak.advptp.ref-aux.ē cook.inf
toḍaṅgināl
 start.pres.3.f.S
 'Kamala started cooking (kept) talking to herself.'

The word *tan-*, which is the oblique form of *tān*, is marked in dative case argument of the verb in the reflexive form of *pēsu* 'talking'. In the subordinate sentence, the pronoun *tān* occurs with the particle *-ē*, which gives the reflexive meaning of 'oneself'. The particle *ē* that occurs as part of the predicate as in *pēsikkoṇḍē* indicates a durative meaning.

This apparent relation between reflexives, intensifiers and focus particles has been noticed also in other languages (König and Siemund 1999:45).

2. Focus in Tamil

2.1. Use of the particle *-dān*

This section attempts to outline the specific features of *-dān* as focus marker. This particle is widely used and the focused element conveys mainly identificational focus. Different types of 'focus' are proposed: exhaustive focus, contrastive focus and corrective focus (Kiss 1998, Rooth 1992). In the present paper, the term 'identificational focus' is understood to be exhaustive identificational focus. Identificational focus has a narrow alternatives choice set, normally restricted to the discourse context. I analyse below only simple sentences involving both *wh*-questions and polar yes/no questions. The focus particle *-dān* provides the idea of an exclusive selection among a set of variables. It is important to note that these variables are defined contextually. The particle *-dān* that occurs as part of an answer expresses a contrast between 'assertion' and other potential 'presuppositions'. The focus structure is linked to the communicative situation and each type of question has its appropriate focus structure.⁶

6. For instance, Rooth claims a close relationship between focus and questions.

"We might say that the function of focus in an answer is to signal other propositions which are potential answers in the context of the question. Or if we wanted to speak in terms of contrast, we could say that focus in an answer expresses

In other words, the choice of the focus particle in Tamil depends on the communicative situation and the type of question. Consider the following *wh*-question.

2. *nētti* *vīttukku* *yāru* *vandāṅga?*
 yesterday house.dat who come.past.3
 'who came to (the/our) house yesterday?'

2a. *appādān* *vandāṅga*
 father.dān come.past.3.pl
 'its father (of course) who came'

2b. *appā* *nētti* *vīttukku* *vandāṅga*
 father yesterday house.dat come.past.3.pl
 'father came yesterday to the house'

2c. *mandirī* *nētti* *vīttukku* *vandāru*
 minister yesterday house.dat come.past.3.m
 '(the) minister came yesterday to the house'

2d. *mandirī dān* *vandāru*
 minister.dan come.past.3.m
 'it is (the) minister who came'

In the above examples (2a, 2b, 2c and 2d) the subject argument is brought into focus. Questions like (2) evoke the set of all possible individuals who could have come. In other words, *wh*-questions set up alternatives which are contextually sensitive. The alternatives in this particular context may consist of, for instance, one of the parents (set of kinship), the postman (set of public servants) who visit regularly or any others of the such kind. It is important to note that the above answers to question (2) imply different pragmatic readings at various degrees of presuppositions.⁷

contrast between the asserted answer and other potential answers" (Rooth 1996:84). See also "The question indicates the discourse situation in which the structure is appropriate" (Lambrecht 1994:223).

7. "Often the presuppositions evoked in an utterance are fully or partially expressed in the preceding linguistic context, either in already presupposed form or in asserted form" (p.57); and [It is clear that the propositions expressed in these sentences are] pragmatically entirely presupposed, in the sense that the addressee obviously was assumed to know them before hearing the utterances (p.59) (Lambrecht 1994).

The participants interpret a discourse based on a shared body of information. This information is taken for granted by the participants in their conversation. In fact, the speaker assumes that somebody came and 'the father' might be one of the potential visitors is also part of common knowledge, beliefs or values shared both by the speaker and the addressee as members of a given community. Taking into consideration the above remarks, and in particular the context of the discourse, (2a) is considered more natural than others. Thus the focused argument stands in contrast to the other options so that the features of exhaustivity and contrast would be highlighted as main features of the particle *-dān*.

But (2b) and (2c), although stand as a reply to the question (2), can also be uttered out of the context (i.e. lacking any previous discourse context); and hence need not (necessarily) answer the corresponding *wh*-question. Obviously both (2b and 2c) present new and non-presupposed information without any additional semantic effects. It should be the default strategy used to mark the focused element of an answer corresponding to the *WH*-word of the question in Q-A pairs. In this type of utterances the constituent conveying non-presupposed information is known as informational (or presentational) focus (Kiss 1998).⁸

Consider now the pairs (2c) and (2d). Sentence 2c is a felicitous (or congruent) answer than (2d) to the question (2) only if *the visit of a/the minister* is not considered to be part of the daily routine activity. Clearly 'the minister' is a non-presupposed information and hence cannot be the part of knowledge or beliefs shared by the interlocutors. In this particular case, there is no need to eliminate any other variable to focus on *the minister* as the minister is not considered to be in contrast with other possible variables. The particle *-dān* entails an exclusive selection of an element out of the possible set of pre-supposed variables. Hence (2d), although grammatically well constructed, does

8. "If a sentence part conveys new, non-presupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities, it is not an identificational focus but a mere information focus. Information focus is not associated with movement. An information focus is present in every sentence, but not every sentence contains an identificational focus." (E. Kiss. 1998. 246).

not fit into the context pragmatically. It is evident from the above utterances that the particle *-dān* can be added to an argument from a presupposed set of alternatives.

A nominal focus constituent may be both informational and identificational (exhaustive). The particle *-dān* encodes identificational (exhaustive) focus. A constituent that is exhaustively focused always carries the particle *-dān*. On the contrary, an informational focus will be un-marked. A *wh*-question like (3) may give rise to two different replies whereas with a positive polar question like (4), one would expect as a rule an identificational focus.

3. *nīṅga enna sāppittīṅga?*

You what eat.past.2.pl

‘what did you eat?’

3a. *nān palam sāppittēn*

I fruit eat.past.1.s

‘I ate (some) fruit’

3b. *nān palamdān sāppittēn*

I fruit.dān eat.past.1.s

‘I just ate (some) fruit (and nothing else)’

4. *nīṅga palamā sāppittīṅga?*

You fruit.int eat.past.2.pl

‘Did you eat fruit?’

4a. *āmām nān palamdān sāppittēn*

yes I fruit.dān eat.past.1.s

‘yes, I ate indeed only (some) fruits’

In the above examples the object argument is brought into focus. For (3), which is a *wh*-question, two answers are possible. In (3a) the utterance is unmarked and the object argument conveys a new, non-presupposed information which corresponds to informational focus. In 3b, the particle *-dān* invokes alternatives obligatorily to the focused constituent and thus entails a contrastive focus.

A polar yes/no question (4) inquires the truth-value for a corresponding declarative sentence on a polarity scale. The point is that (4) does not ask for some new information but instead asks for a

confirmation of something known or is contextually evident to the participants. A polar question can be rightly interpreted only under the light of speaker's beliefs and the context of the discourse. The nature of this relationship is explained further in the section (§2.3) with further evidences. For instance, the question (4) would be clearly infelicitous if one lacks contextual evidence (unless uttered with irony). If the speaker asked (4) based on contextual evidence, then the information is assumed to be part of a common ground of the participants in the discourse. In our data the polar questions have to do with the common ground of the participants in the discourse. It is important to note that (3b) and (4a) entail different pragmatic interpretation.

5. *nētti nī nejamā sinimavukkā pōna?*
 yesterday you really film.dat.inter go.past.2.s
 'Did you really go to the cinema yesterday?'

5a. *āmām, nētti nān nejamā sinimavukkudān pōnēn*
 yes yesterday I really film.dat.dān go.past.1.s
 'yes, yesterday I really did go to a film (and no where else)'
 'Yes indeed I went to the cinema yesterday'

(5a) is a reply to a polar question. The focalized dative nominal is not a new information but presents in the question as part of a 'background information'. The focus particle in this utterance does not imply that the information is new to the discourse, but asserts the truth-value of the constituent focused on by exhaustive identification. It also adds emphasis, to a presupposed piece of information, with the meaning of '*it is true the place where I went was cinema - [and no where else]*' and thus excludes other possibilities.

A locative argument can also be used with the particle *-dān* as is evident from following example.

6. *uṅga magan ippō eṅgē irukkān*
 your son now where be.pres.3.m.s
 'where is your son now?'

6a. *avan ippō pārisiledān irukkān*
 he now paris.loc.dān be.pres.3.m.s
 'Of course he is in Paris now (and no where else)'

In (6a), a locative noun is focalized. The particle *-dān* identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open set by eliminating other possible alternatives. The conversation took place in Paris and the interlocutors knew each other very well. Contextually this construction also implies ‘presupposition’ and ‘activation’ because the speaker believes that the addressee remembers that his son lived in Paris earlier and this information is understood to be ‘active’ in the knowledge of the addressee. If it were not the case, i.e. if the addressee knew nothing about the speaker’s family background, the felicitous answer should occur without the particle *-dān*, as in (6b), which is just ‘informative’ and bears no other pragmatic effects.

- 6b. *avan ippō pārisile inukkān*
 he now paris.loc to be.pres.3.m.s
 ‘He is in Paris now’

In (7) the verb is focalized, in an answer to a polar question.

7. *anda paiyana adiccīṅgalā?*
 dem.adj boy.acc beat.past.2.pl.inter
 ‘did you beat that boy?’

- 7a. *āmām anda paiyana adiccēndān*
 yes dem.adj boy.acc beat.past.1.s.dān
 ‘Yes, I did beat the boy (because I have my own reasons / he deserves it)’

The focused constituent in (7a), a finite verb, is already evoked in (7) and hence is part of the background. The context of the utterance does not permit an identificational focus but allows only polar (yes/no) focus. But, we have already noted that the verb focus does not correspond to the particle *-dān* because this particle encodes mainly (exhaustive) identification. In such cases, the particle *-dān* gives different pragmatic interpretations. (7a) adds emphasis on the assertion as made by the speaker and triggers a kind of factive, cause and result presupposition (I did beat him BECAUSE I have my own reasons), or adversative ‘justification’ (I did beat him BUT he deserves it) conveying denial or contrast between two ideas, with an argumentative orientation. By argumentative orientation, it is meant that the possibility of adding subsequent argument or explanation on the part of the speaker aimed at justifying or smoothing out his ill treatment. The

particle *-dān* compulsorily invokes alternatives to the focused constituent. This is one of the reasons for which this particle is rarely used with finite verbs. When this particle does not invoke alternative, it signifies other discourse functions (speaker's attitude).

However, the particle *-dān* seems to be felicitous in other contexts than question-answer pairs.

8. *palatta vāṅgadān sonnēn tiṅga sollale*
 fruit.obl.acc buy.inf.dān to say.past.1.s eat.inf say.inf.neg
 'I only asked you to buy the fruits, I didn't ask you to eat (them)'

In (8), the two verbs occur as part of a small set of variables present contextually, and they are in contrast to each other. The speaker gets to choose one of them as prominent, that which is expected from the hearer and focalizes only that action. The verbs are not finite in nature and the particle is added to an infinite verb. In this case, the particle *-dān* is in conformity with its primary meaning of exhaustiveness, which depends also on the context of the discourse.⁹ In all other instances of verb focus with the particle *-dān*, it may be a case of emphasis or other discourse functions like argumentation.

Generally speaking, speakers communicate additional meaning by means of implicatures. Hearers interpret this meaning through inferences based on the context of communication rather than just on the literary content of the statement. In the following example, the focused constituent does not correspond to the *wh*-question.

(9-9a) is a conversation between father and son about the son's bad results in the exams.

9. *ēn risalt nallā illa?*
 why result good no
 'why is the result bad?'

- 9a. *nān paritcai nallādān eludinēn*
 I exam well.dān write.past.1.s
 '('paradoxically'/ as for as I am concerned) I did write the exam well'

9. "... I suggest that the impression of contrastiveness which we receive when we hear such sentences arises from particular inferences which we draw on the basis of given conversational contexts" (Lambrecht 1994:290).

(9a) is not a direct answer to the question in (9) and the focused element is an adverbial. Here, the conversational implicature does not correspond to the entailments of the literary meaning of the sentence and the meaning is inferred from the contextual factors with the interaction of linguistic expressions. Note that (9a) would be a felicitous answer to a question like '*how did you write the exam?*'. In (9a), there is neither assertion nor identification of the reason of the bad result. Thus we note in this case the particle *-dān* creates a pre-suppositional structure and allows an interpretation by the addressee: "If the result is bad, however it is not my fault... because (paradoxically/strangely) I wrote the exam well...".

In (10a) a temporal adverbial is focalized.

10. *ēn vēla innum ārambikkala?*
 Why work yet begin.inf.neg
 'why hasn't the work begun yet?'

10a. *mēstri ippadān vandāru*
 supervisor now.dān come.past.3.m
 '(because) the supervisor (only) arrived just now (so we could not begin earlier) (and we are going to start the work immediately)'

This sentence, like (9a), is not a direct response to the question. However, the whole sentence provides the addressee with new and non-presupposed information. This utterance implies a presupposition (or common ground between the participants) that "the supervisor should come before starting the work or with out the supervisor the work can not be started". The focus particle *-dān* gives a causal interpretation but not that of identification.

The particle *-dān* can be used in an answer both to *wh*-questions and polar yes/no questions. The particle *-dān* entails (exhaustive) identification and presupposition. This particle is more frequently used with nominal arguments than verbs. A sentence with a contrastive focus is uttered felicitously if there are alternatives to the focused expressions that could replace the focused expression in any given context. The particle *-dān* compulsorily invokes alternatives to focused constituent. But verbal predicates are less readily contrasted than arguments in *wh*-questions. This is one of the reasons why this particle is rarely used

with finite verbs. As a result of its exhaustive semantics, the particle *-dān* normally occurs with arguments in an answer to a polar or *wh*-question.

2.1. Nominalization of the verb

As already stated, it becomes evident that exhaustivity is a basic feature of the particle *-dān*. The meaning of 'exhaustivity' is also marked in Tamil by the nominalization of the verb using a participial noun. This process involves a movement of the nominalized verb to the left of the sentence, and as a consequence the focused argument occupies the post verbal or the right most position. Clefting or nominalization is less frequently used than the other two structures discussed in this paper. This section attempts to show how the particle *-dān* is, as a rule obligatory, on nouns whenever the statement or answer could provide alternatives.

11. *yār poy sonnāṅga?*
 who lie.past.3.pl
 'Who lied?'

11a. *mandiri poy sonnāru*
 minister lie.past.3m.h
 '(the) minister lied'

11b. *mandiridān poy sonnāru*
 minister.dān lie.past.3m.h
 '(It was (the)) minister who lied'

11c. *poy sonnadu mandiridān*
 lie.past.nom minister.dān
 'It was the minister who lied'

11d. *poy sonnadu mandiri (...)*
 lie.past.nom minister
 '(the) one who lied was (the) minister ...'
 'It was the minister who lied (....)'

A question like (11) may give rise to different replies like (11a, 11b, 11c, 11d and 11e). But each reply is relevant only in a distinctive context. The answers (11a and 11b) are same as the (2a & 2b) and will

not be taken into consideration here. Let us, however, consider 11c and 11d as below.

Sentences 11b and 11c are more felicitous answers than (11a) to the question in (11). Both 11b and 11c with the particle *-dān* imply exclusive identification of the focused nominal in a set of other possible alternatives. Sentence (11b) does not involve any movement and is in situ focus. But in (11c) the verb is nominalized, usually known as participial noun, and is moved to the left or precedes the focused noun. The focused noun occupies the post verbal position, or precisely the extreme right. This position is usually reserved for the predicate. Bhat has shown that in Dravidian, pragmatic functions are directly represented by word order distinctions and underlined the pragmatic relevance of relative clause formation (Bhat, 2008). In the same vein, the use of participial noun also can be regarded as a pragmatic device. There is also a parallel between the relative participle and the participial noun, in which the focused noun occupies the post-verbal position.

Even though, (11d) is grammatically well formed, the absence of *-dān* necessitates two remarks: 1) this utterance conveys simply an assertion with emphasis but does not convey exhaustivity and 2) it sounds incomplete from the point of view of discourse. This statement needs further piece of completive information to be felicitous as in (11e). For instance in (11e) a cause-consequence relation is understood between the two conjuncts:

- 11e. *poysonnadu mandiri tunbap-pduradu makkal*
 to lie.past.nom Minister suffer.past.nom people
 'The one who lied is the minister but the ones who suffer are the people'
 (The minister's lie caused people's suffering)

As can be inferred from (11c and 11d), the leftward movement of the verb triggers nominalization. The change in information structure results the nominalization of the verb. However the focus particle *-dān* is necessary on pragmatic grounds due to its semantics of exhaustivity.

12. *nān tēdunadu inda puttagamdān*
 I look for.past.nom this book.dān
 'It is this book that I was looking for (and not any other)'

In (12), the object is brought to focus and occupies syntactically at the right most position in the sentence. The focused constituent is identified exclusively by elimination of other type of books. In addition, the focalized constituent is preceded by the deictic particle which is a demonstrative adjective. Like in 11d, this sentence also calls for the same remark, i.e. without the focus particle *-dān*, the sentence will not be considered to be pragmatically complete.

13. *ippō avuru irukkiradu pārisledān*
 now he.h be.pres.nom paris.loc.dān
 ‘at present he’s only in Paris (and not anywhere else)’

- 13a. *avanu ippō irukkiradu pārisleyā? landanleyā? dellīlēyā?*
 he.h now be.pres.nom Paris.loc.inetr London.loc.inter Delhi.loc.inter
 (lit. ‘Is it Paris, London, or Delhi is he living now?’)
 Where does he live now? In Paris, London or Delhi?

(13) is an answer to an alternative question (13a). Generally, an alternative question contains a set of alternatives as answers in the question itself. The focused nominal in (13) is not new information. But the fact that ‘Paris is one of the possible places where the person might live’ is available from the context of the discourse. The list of possible alternatives (Paris or London or Delhi) is understood from the question. When speakers make assertions, the identification of the entity is understood from among the entities enumerated as background or presupposed information. Only the identified entity receives the focus marker.

14. *avuru pōnadu 8 maṇi bassiledān aṅge 12 maṇikkudān*
 he go.past.nom 8 hour bus.loc.dān there 12hour.dative.dān
varuvār
 come.fut.3.m.s
 ‘(since) he only left at 8 O’clock bus (consequently) he can only arrive at 12 O’clock.’
 ‘He only left by the 8 O’clock bus (so) he can arrive only by 12 O’clock’

Sentence (14) is an answer to a query on the expected arrival of somebody (‘why has he not arrived yet?’ or ‘at what time would he arrive?’). The particle *-dān* is used twice with the meaning of ‘only’ and

the focused noun phrases constitute new information. The focalized locative noun phrase (*8 maṇi basle* 'at 8 O'clock bus') is identified exclusively and contextually and the other buses are excluded. In the second part of the sentence, the time of arrival is restricted by eliminating other possible timings. In this sentence the repetition of *-dān* in the embedded clause gives a causal interpretation (since - as a consequence).

The nominalized (verbal participial) cleft construction is less frequent. This structure involves movement and the focused constituent occurs at the rightmost end of the sentence. This structure focuses readily nominal arguments³ but not predicates. Any tensed non-finite verb form, like relative participles and participial nouns, impose a syntactic constraint. The argument, whether subject or object, is moved to the right of the verb. This syntactic position adds focus or emphasis on the nominal argument, which is generally accompanied by high pitch and the particle *-dān*.

2.3. Use of the particle *-ē*

As mentioned earlier, the particle *-ē* is used as a reflexive particle which can be translated into English more or less as 'X-self'. In addition, this particle responds widely to polar (yes/no) questions. The polar (yes/no) question does not ask for (new) information but questions the truth-value of the statement. This particle invokes polarity focus (also known in the literature as verum focus). This particle *-ē* is more frequently used with verbs and encodes pragmatic function of common ground / shared knowledge. But this particle does not entail exhaustivity effect. A noun or noun phrase evokes other meanings such as 'even', or other discourse functions like 'speakers attitude'. In some cases it invokes the preceding events as evidences for the statement as presuppositions.

(15a) and (15b) are both relevant answers to the question (15), but they do not entail same conversational implicature. In response to this type of polar interrogatives as in (15), the particle *-ē* can be used to draw attention to an obvious fact that is part of a common knowledge.

15. *mēstri* *vanduttārā?*
 supervisor come.perf.past.3.m.inter
 'has the supervisor arrived?'

15a. *mēstri* *vanduttāru*
 supervisor come.perf.past.3.m
 ‘supervisor has arrived’

15b. *mēstri* *vannduttārē*
 supervisor come.perf.past.3.m.ē
 ‘(indeed) the supervisor has arrived (don’t you see-every thing is fine.. !)’

The unmarked sentence (15a) is just a reply to the question and it corresponds to what is called as information focus. In (15b), the particle *-ē* is added to the verbal predicate and has a semantics of common ground.¹⁰ In this case, as can be seen from the English translation, the focus particle *-ē* is used to draw attention to an obvious fact, through contextual evidence, that the ‘*supervisor has arrived and is at work*’. The fact that the supervisor has arrived can be verified on the spot given the extra linguistic evidences. For instance - ‘the workers have started working or we hear the sounds of the machines and one can imagine a situation where it is conventional that in the context of the factory without the supervisor, the workers would never turn on the machines. The workers would wait for instructions from the supervisor before they can start working’ -so many obvious and contextual reasons or evidences to assume that the hearer shares the idea that the supervisor arrived. Given the context that the particle *-ē* prompts a shared knowledge, the speaker of the utterance (15b) creates a common ground (Cf. Stalnakar 2002: 704). In addition, the utterance (15b) also conveys reassurance to the hearer on the fact that the supervisor arrived as expected, and so on.

The particle *-ē* can be added to two different constituents with other functions in the same utterance.

15c. *mēstri* *8 maṇikkē* *vanduttārē*
 supervisor 8 hour.dat.ē come.perf.past.3.m.ē
 ‘(indeed) the supervisor has come already at 8 O’clock ,
 (don’t you make out)’

10. "...notion of common ground - the mutually recognized shared information in a situation in which an act of trying to communicate takes place"..." In the simple picture, the common ground is just common or mutual belief, and what a speaker presupposes is what she believes to be common or mutual belief". "The common beliefs of the parties to a conversation are the beliefs they share, and that they recognize that they share..." (Stalnakar 2002:704).

In (15c) the particle is added to two constituents: 1) the temporal adjunct noun phrase 'at 8 O'clock', and 2) the verbal predicate. The temporal adjunct is new information and is not part of the presupposed information. The particle *-ē* adds emphasis to this new information and thus can be translated as 'already at 8 O'clock'. The verb phrase represents the reply to the polar interrogative. With the verb, the particle *-ē* triggers, as in previous examples, among other things, shared knowledge or common ground.¹¹ As can be inferred from the translation (*as you might know / as you are expected to know*), the speaker assumes and believes that the addressee knows or shares the information about the arrival of the supervisor.

Note, this particle *-ē* can be used in a negative sentence, which implies always a shared knowledge or common ground.

- 15d. *mēstri varaleyē*
 supervisor come.neg.ē
 'the supervisor has not come (as you can see!)

In the following set of examples,

16. *ḍāḱtar innekki varuvārā?*
 doctor today come.fut.3.m.s.inter
 'will the doctor come today?'
 16a. *innikki vellikkelama, avuru vellikelamayile varavmāṭṭār*
 today Friday he Friday.loc come.inf.negative.imp.3.m
 'today is Friday, he does not come on Fridays'
 16b. *innikki vellikkelama, avuru vellikelamayile varavēmāṭṭār*
 today Friday he Friday.loc come.inf.ē negative.imp.3.m
 'today is Friday, he never comes on Fridays'
 16c. *innikki vellikkelama, avuru vellikelamayile varavmāṭṭārē*
 today Friday he Friday.loc come.inf. negative.imp.3.m.ē
 '(don't you know!) today is Friday, he does not come on Fridays
 (I am sorry for you...)

11. Pragmatic presupposition, common ground and common belief, seem to be related notions. (Lambrecht 1994:345, note 12)

(16a) is an unmarked answer to (16) which is a polar interrogative. In (16b & 16c), the particle is added to the verb phrase but structurally at two different positions. In (16b) with infinitive of the main verb, where the particle *-ē* is translated as "never" adding emphasis to the negation of the statement that '*the doctor will not come*'. But in (16c) the particle is added to the verb phrase (verbal predicate) and the entire verb phrase occurs under focus domain. When the particle is added to the verbal predicate in (16c), it entails a shared knowledge between the participants in the discourse that '*today being a Friday, the doctor would not come*'. The hearer (the one who uttered 16a) is expected to be aware of this information, being a patient of that doctor. Here the particle *-ē* is used to draw attention on an obvious fact, which would be evident from the context, part of common knowledge or shared knowledge.

The following sentence (17) is part of a telephone conversation.

17. *nīṅga uṅga vītṭileyē inuṅga nānē vandu pākkirēn*
 you your house.loc.ē be.pres.2 I.ē come.advp see.pres.1.s
 'You just stay at your own home, I shall come and see you myself'

The focus particle is used with two arguments in two different clauses. The referents of the foci (*your house* and *I*), respectively possessive and pronoun are definite, in the sense that their identity is known to the speaker and the hearer. 'The speaker assures the hearer that she (the speaker) would come and meet her (the hearer) at her house and asks the hearer just to stay in her house itself'. The discourse particle *-ē* adds emphasis to the referent of the nominals. Both nouns (noun phrases) with the particle *-ē* do not provide a new information, but are understood to be part of a shared knowledge, and hence adds emphasis to the arguments.

The particle *-ē* does not entail exhaustivity but can provide other alternatives. (18) is a piece of conversation regarding a money deal, where both speaker and addressee know the borrower.

18. *nīṅgaṭē paṇatta kēluṅga, nānum avara pāttu kēkkirēn*
 you.ē money.acc to ask.pres.2.s I.also he.acc see.advp ask.pres.1.s
 'You ask (him) for the money (yourself), I will also (on my part) meet with him and claim (the money)'

The speaker suggests the addressee that it would be better that (YOU) the -hearer (her self) claims (directly) for the money lent and adds that she would also (for her part) meet the borrower and ask for the money. The fact that 'the particle does not mean exclusive identity' is evident from the second clause with coordinate conjunctive *-um*, where the speaker places herself as the second possible alternative to claim for the money lent.

If the focused verb (verb phrase) does not correspond to the polar yes/no question, the particle *-ē* may have different discourse functions.

In the following conversation, the question (19) would require a yes / no reply.

19. A *nī innekki sinimāvukku variyā?*
 you today cinema.dat to come.inter
 'Will you come to a cinema today?'

- 19a. B *nān innekki sinimāvukku varale, paḍikkaṇumē....*
 I today cinema.dat to come.neg study.must.ē
 'I am not coming to the cinema today, (because) I have to study (don't you remember!).'

(19a) is not a direct reply, instead the particle *-ē* entails a cause and effect or an evidential reading. There is however a suggestion that B's activities are part of common ground or shared knowledge between the participants in conversation. B is reminding A that B has to study and as a consequence B cannot come for the film. The addressee seems to accommodate with this interpretation of the information.

In (20), topic of the previous utterance or given information is brought to 'focus'. In modern spoken Tamil we notice many instances of this type of expressions where a background or presupposed information is repeated with the particle *-ē*, which produces an interpretation equivalent to 'even'.

20. A *rāman kāṭṭukku pōnān*
 R forest.dat to go.past.3.m.s
 'Rama (went to the forest) went into exile'

- 20a. B *rāmanē kāttukku pōnā nāma enna agiradu*
 R.ē forest.dat to go.cond we what become.pres.neut
 ‘If / (even) Rama himself went [= had to go] into exile, what will
 become of us?’

This type of phrases with the notion of ‘even’ entails identification without excluding any members of the potential variables. In (20) the speaker A narrates the story of Rama, mythological hero-god, who was exiled to the forest for 14 years. The hearer B (20a) responds to this statement and conveys his feeling of frustration or disappointment about ‘*what would happen to us -ordinary human beings-when compared to what had happened to Rama the hero-god*’.

Example (20) illustrates that the discourse particle *-ē* is used to draw attention to a fact or an event which is already part of the shared knowledge. Further this corroborates König’s remark on the link between reflexive intensifiers and focus marker, “the referent of the focus is considered as high ranking than the other members of the set of alternatives or the referent is central and the relevant periphery being made up by the subordinate or entourage of these powerful persons” (König 2006:7).

The following example (21) illustrates clearly that the particle *-ē* implies the notion of persons with high rank and is related to the meaning of ‘even’.

21. *nī uṅga amṁāvaiyē kiṇḍalseyriyā?*
 you your.pl.gen mother.acc.ē makefun.pres.2.s.inter
 ‘(So) You make fun of even your own mother?’ (but you are not
 expected to do so!)

The argument *mother* is a person of high rank in this particular cultural space or central in a given event. The utterance (21) expresses the speaker’s contention about the addressee’s ill-treatment of her mother and it is implied that one is not expected to mock at his mother, a high ranking person, as it is considered disrespectful.

The particle *-ē* does not answer *wh*-questions but responds widely to polar yes/no questions and entails semantics of common ground / shared knowledge. The polar yes/no questions are used to ask for confirmation with respect to the truth-value of the statement. The

verb focus in Tamil responds readily to polar focus or verum focus. As noticed in the previous sections, the particle *-ē* does not correspond to new information. In contrast, a non-verbal constituent with the particle *-ē* invokes different meanings (even, already, cause-consequence, speaker's appreciation or emotion on the event referred to in the discourse etc.). Each particle, in fact, entails a particular set of question answer congruence. A specific feature of this type of *-ē* focused utterances involves shared knowledge among the participants. The shared knowledge (common ground, presupposition) is discernible from the background material and the context of the discourse. The particle *-ē*, in contrast to *-dān*, does not entail exhaustivity.

2.4. Combination of *-dān* and *-ē*

In the previous two sections, it is discussed how the two particles *-dān* and *-ē* can occur independently. There are other cases where these particles can be used in combination as in *-dānē* and *-ēdān*, with different semantic nuances namely: + exhaustivity and - shared information; -exhaustivity and + shared information. It will be evident from the following examples that the semantics of the right most particle is dominant.

22. *inda bēṅkil kaḍan koḍuppāṅgaḷā?*
 This bank.loc loan give.fut.3.p.inter
 'Does this bank lend money (to customers)?'

22a. *kēttā koḍuppāṅga*
 ask.cond give.fut.3.p
 'They would (lend) if applied for!'

22b. *kēttādān koḍuppāṅga*
 ask.cond.dān give.fut.3.p
 'Only if (one) applies for, they would lend'

22c. *kēttādānē koḍuppāṅga*
 ask.cond.dān.ē give.fut.3.p
 '(As you know) they would only lend if (one) applied for'

(22a) is an unmarked utterance and it provides a new information to the hearer. In (22b & c) the particles *-dān* and *-dānē* are added to the conditional clause with different implications. In (22b), the

particle *-dān* gives an interpretation of exclusive or restrictive conditional and adds emphasis to the fact that one must apply to get a loan from the bank. This particle preserves its prevailing semantics of exhaustivity. But in (22c) though there is a composite particle *-dānē*, this particle implies only shared knowledge (or common belief) because the right most component dominates semantically. (22c) implies that the hearer is expected to *'be aware of the condition that one should apply for a loan to get it'*. In (22c) the particle *-dān* has lost its exclusive or restrictive (value) meaning when compared to (22b).

In (23) the two combinations are used with different shades of meaning.

23. *nāṅga ippō eṅgē irukkīṅga?*
 You now where to be.pres.2.pl
 'Where are you now?'

- 23a. *nāṅga aṅji varusamā delliyleyēdān irukkōm*
 We 5 year.since Delhi.loc.ē.dān be.pres.1.p
 'We have been continuously living (only) in Delhi for the past five years (we have not moved to any other place)'

- 23b. *nāṅga aṅji varusamā delliildānē irukkōm*
 We 5 year.since Delhi.loc.dān.ē be.pres.1.p
 'It is in Delhi that we have been living for the last five years (as you know/ I presume that you know)'

In (23a) the particle *-ē* in addition to its emphatic value gives a durative interpretation. In (23b) the exhaustivity of the particle *-dān* does not seem to be crucial. The semantics of rightmost particle *-ē* is dominant in the interpretation of the meaning. As discussed in previous section, *-ē* entails shared knowledge, which is explicit from the expression "as you know" as marked in the English translation.

24. *unna appādānē adiccāṅga pravāyilla aluvāda*
 you.acc father.dān.ē beat.past.3.h never mind weep.neg.imp.2.s
 'it is just your father who beat you, don't you mind it, and cry'

In (24), the statement is neither informative nor the focused nominal is new. The context is 'where a mother is convincing her crying child'. The implied meaning is based on a conceptual situation of

cultural common ground and on the values shared between the speaker and the hearer. The statement implies that ‘*it is only your father (so dear to you?) who beat you, so never mind, do not cry*’. The focalized noun “the father” known to the speaker and the addressee, is identified among other possible variables and the particle *-ē* sets the scene for a successive discourse intended at pacifying the child and giving good reason for the father’s attitude towards the addressee -the child-.

3. Conclusion

The nature of the two frequently used focus structures as expressed by *dān* and *-ē* are illustrated in detail here. The present analysis clearly shows that the focus particles *-dān* and/or *-ē* are subject to categorical restrictions and can encode different semantic-pragmatic values. In Tamil, information focus is usually unmarked and there exists a contrast between argument focus and verb focus with respect to question answer congruence. ‘Argument focus’ answers *wh*-question and polar yes/no question whereas the ‘verb focus’ answers only polar (yes/no) question. This distinction is illustrated in sections §2.2 and §2.3.

The table below is presented with different functions of these two particles.

Table: Overview of discourse-semantic functions of the two particles					
	Focus	Focus	ODF	E	CG
-dān	N/ NP Ex: 2a, 2d, 5, 6a, 8a, 11b, 11c, 13, 14	V/ VP Ex: 8	Ex: 7a, 9a, 10a, 14a,	+	
-ē	V/ VP Ex: 15b, 16c		Ex: 15c, 16b, 17, 19b, 20a, 21		+
-dānē	N/ NP		Ex: 22b, 24 .		+
-ēdān-	N/ NP			+	

[ODF = Other Discourse Functions (speaker’s intention, only, even, argumentation, cause-effect); E = Exhaustivity; CG = Common Ground]

What is hypothesized here based on the present analysis is: 1) The particle *-dān* is primarily concerned with 'argument focus' and encodes semantics of 'exhaustivity'. If the utterance does not allow identificational (exhaustive) reading, the particle assumes other discourse functions. 2) The particle *-ē* is mainly concerned with 'verb focus' and encodes semantics of 'common ground' / 'shared knowledge'. This particle assumes other discourse functions with a noun (argument).

The particle *-dān* answers two types of questions namely 'wh-question' and 'polar yes/no question' and encodes semantics of 'exhaustivity'. 'Identificational (exhaustive) focus' is necessarily marked morphologically with the particle *-dān*. This particle is more readily associated with 'noun focus'. The particle *-dān* is compatible only with questions that involve (exhaustive or contrastive) identification. In other words, one can assume that argument focus in Tamil is sensitive to (exhaustive) identification. This is also true even with dislocated (cleft) constructions by nominalization of the verb using the participial noun form. In question-answer pairs, 'verb focus' does not fit into the exhaustive semantics of the particle *-dān*. This might be one of the reasons why the focus marker *-dān* does not very frequently occur as 'verb focus'.

The particle *-ē* answers the polar yes/no question and entails a semantics of common ground/shared beliefs among the discourse participants. This particle is more readily used in verb focus. The focused verb corresponds to polar focus or 'verum focus'. The polar yes/no question is commonly used for asking for a confirmation to what is stated. The expected answer should provide just the truth-value of the expressed statement on a polarity scale, and naturally this does not involve any possible alternatives. This might explain the prevalent association of verb with the particle *-ē*.

These two particles are also used in compound form. The combination of these two particles, as discussed in section §2.3, shows a range of distinguishing discourse functions. The syntactic position of the particle seems to play a major role in determining their semantic-pragmatic interpretation. The semantics of the rightmost particle is dominant. However each particle maintains its proper

semantic-pragmatic value. This shows clearly how these values are not interchangeable.

Focus particles operate not only on discourse referents i.e. entities and statements, but also on truth values and on non-truth-conditional meanings, like implicatures, and fulfil other discourse functions like cause-consequence, speaker's appreciation or emotion on the event referred to in the discourse, evidential or adversative interpretation, and other meanings like 'even and already'. It is quite interesting to note that these secondary interpretations are subject to constraints. Verbs or verb phrases with the particle *-dān* and nouns, adverbials and adjuncts with the particle *-ē* imply the above interpretations.

List of abbreviations

1. first person; 2. second person; 3. third person; acc. accusative; advp. adverbial participle; cond. conditional; dat. dative; dem.adj. demonstrative adjective; fut. future; gen. genitive; h. honorific; imp. imperative; inf. infinitive; inter. interrogative; loc. locative; m. masculine; neg. negative; neut. neuter; obl. oblique; perf. perfective; pl. plural; pres. present; s. singular.

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THE DERIVATION OF GERUNDIVE CLAUSE OF ORIYA

DEBIPRASANNA PATTANAYAK & SANJAYA KUMAR LENKA
Banaras Hindu University

Abstract

Gerundive clause is a non-finite clause in Oriya. It occurs in the argument position of matrix verb. In its subject position an overt or a null subject DP can occur with accusative or nominative case. This paper addresses the syntax of gerundive clause and accounts the basic similarity and dissimilarity between gerundive clauses with overt subject and null subject. This paper proposes that in Oriya gerundive clauses with different subjects are not different in their syntactic features but they are different in their derivation in which that features are checked.

Keywords: DP - determiner phrase, GC - gerundive clause, TP - tense phrase, IP - Inflectional phrase, EPP - extended projection principle, NP - noun phrase, VP -verb phrase, CP - complement phrase, C - complementizer, Agrs - agreement subject, T - tense, OB - object, H - role-head-role, OC - obligatory control, NOC - non-obligatory control, SOV - subject/object/verb, SVO - subject/verb/object, N - number, P - person, C - case, PRO - pronominal, PF - phonological form, LF - logical form.

1. Introduction

This paper analyses syntax of a clause of gerunds of Oriya, referred to here as gerundive clause, in which the subject of gerundive clause can be either a PRO (null subject) or an overt DP case marked with accusative case. For example:

1 *jita PRO Daakatari padhibaa pasandakalaa.*

Jita preferred reading medical science.

2 *tutu jita gitagaabaa pasandakare.*

Tutu appreciates jita singing song.

The structures of sentences 1 and 2 show problem for different approaches to case and control, i.e. the particular position in which overt DPs can occur is taken to be ruled out as a position where control null subjects are allowed. Conversely, the position where the control null subjects occur is ruled out by different theories as a possible position for overt subjects. Here, it is argued that the alternation between overt and null subjects exactly in the same context in gerundive clauses (GC) can be broadly analyzed without need of independent structures for the two gerundive clause types. This analysis is supported by the fact that there are no relevant distinctions in their feature specification that can be taken to be responsible for the distinction between gerundive clauses with control null subjects versus those with overt subjects.

This analysis provides various important facts about occurrences of gerundive clause in matrix sentence, and it outlines syntactic environment where gerundive clauses do not occur.

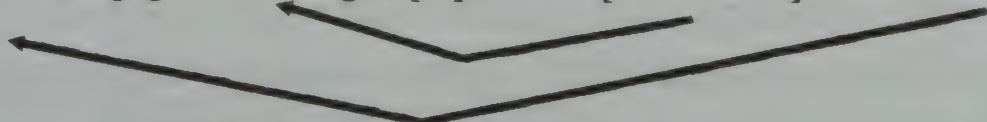
In this study, Section 2 discusses the clause structure of gerundive clauses in Oriya and it will show that gerundive clause of Oriya is a projection of TP/IP. Section 3 analyses the behaviour of null subject in gerundive clauses and then describes obligatory and non-obligatory null subjects in gerundive clauses. Section 4 provides the detailed analysis of the derivation of gerundive clause with null or overt subject.

2. The clause structure of gerundive clause of Oriya

Gerundive clauses behave like clauses (see e.g. Horn 1975, Williams 1983, Kaiser 1999). There are two kinds of clauses - tense and infinitival, with a distinctive marking for each realized on an inflectional head. Reuland (1983) argues that gerundive clause is tense-less finite clause. So, it is -tense and +agr where agr is nominal, the suffix like

However, Reuland's analysis is problematic. If the embedded gerundive clause allows a temporal interpretation that is distinct from the matrix clause, then it is taken to carry a [+ tense] feature specification. In contrast to Reuland, Pires (2007: 8) argues that gerundive clause is tense clause[+ tense]TP. The motivation behind it is embedded gerundive clause has ability to license a temporal interpretation that is independent from the matrix clause and in its temporal interpretation gerund projects as TP.

From this analysis, it is concluded that gerundive clause is tense clause [+tense]. It is projecting TP. It has EPP features where an appropriate expression needs to occur in spec, TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T. Therefore, gerund clause must have subject and object that are case checked in EPP. Gerund constructions are embedded clauses which appear in the case position of matrix sentence. Gerund construction is itself a projection of a clause that Milsark (1988), Kaiser (1999) and Acrisio Pires (2007) argue and they also agree in support of occurrence of clause gerund in matrix sentence. They argue that Gerund construction as a clause occurs in matrix sentence and it shares with finite clauses at least part of their structure. Furthermore, they argue that gerund constructions project as VPS or IPS and are re-categorized into a NP or DP in the syntax; this is a process of syntactic affixation in which affix adjoined to the IP/VP projection, converting it into a DP. The affixation which creates projection is underspecified for morphological or syntactic (see Acrisio Pires (2007: 6). The important fact is gerund construction is a clause, which is the projection of gerund-head. The gerund-head holds TP not Agreement features. It is [+tense]. The TP creates an agreement with



(Hornstein, Nunes & K. Grohmann 2005-113)

external argument of head and then converts the external argument into nominative case. For example:

Here TP features of internal domain of verb moves to AgrS position, then subject moves to nominative case position.

In Oriya, *-ib-aa* which is a combination of tense marker *-ib-* and nominal marker *-aa* is gerundive suffix. When it is added to a verbal root the verbal form becomes gerund (see Mohapatra (1964), Nayak (1987), Sahoo (2001)).

Gerundive clause in Oriya is tense clause [+tense]. It projects as TP. It has EPP which needs appropriate expression of subject and complement in gerundive clause. Further, it always occurs as embedded clause in matrix clause. Therefore, it generally occurs in the argument position of matrix verb and case position of matrix clause. For example:

3 *Sangraam [PRO Derire khaaibaa] pasanda kare.*

Sangram prefers PRO being late for meal.

Here, the clause in bracket is gerundive clause. Its subject position filled up by PRO. This gerundive clause occurs in complement position of matrix clause and it is internal argument of matrix verb *pasandkare*.

A gerundive clause in Oriya cannot occur in non case position of complement of passive sentence. For example:

4 *Raama dharaahelaa [chorikaribaa].*

Ram was caught while stealing

Here, bracketed clause is gerundive clause placed in the non case position of matrix sentence. Further gerund clause in this language always collapsed with a principal clause. It cannot stand independently, and it can take sentential adverb and negative marker.

The important fact which is discussed in this study is gerundive clause in this language allows both overt and null subject. The problem is they display common internal syntactic properties, i.e. they have same tense properties. There are no syntactic feature distinctions between

the gerundive clauses with an overt versus a null subject. Further, they are only differentiated in their derivational process. It will be discussed in Section 4.

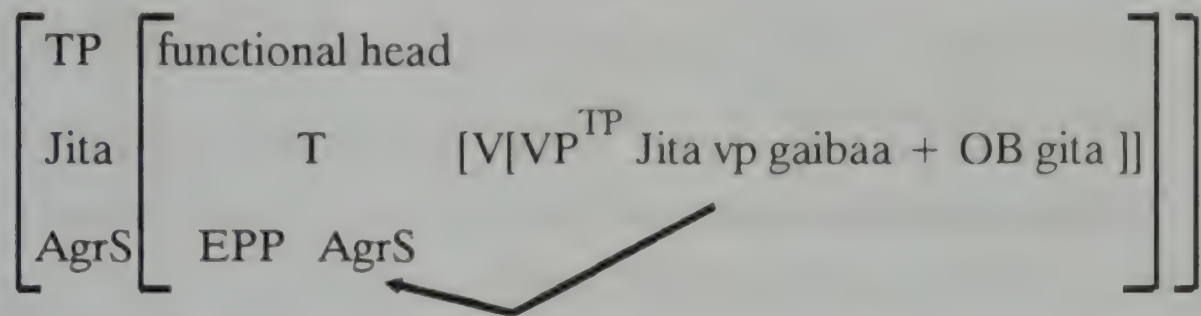
In Oriya gerundive construction is tense clause (+tens) TP. Rath Naik (1987) argues in favour of TP that gerund construction (-ibaa) is capable of inflection. It can assign nominative case to the subject of the gerundive construction. For example:

5 *tutu Jita gitagaibaa pasanda kare.*

Here gerund clause is *Jita gita gaibaa*

Jita + gaibaa + gita

Gerund verb (Head) has two arguments - *gita* as internal argument and *Jita* as external argument.



Here the whole gerund construction is positioned in accusative case of matrix sentence. But *Jita* in embedded gerund clause is an external agreement of gerund head which gets nominative case assigned by TP.

In Oriya gerund construction as clause, its subject can be either a PRO or an overt DP which is case marked with accusative case by matrix verb. For example:

6 *Sangram [PRO derire khaibaa] pasandkare.*

Sangram prefers PRO being late for meal.

7 *John khusi nachibaa pasanda kare.*

John khusi dancing prefers.

John prefers khusi dancing.

Here *khusi* (overt subject) in sentence 7 is accusative case marked in matrix sentence, but it can be nominative case marked in the embedded clause.

In sentence (6) the subject of gerundive clause is PRO. It is empty pronominal category, it is assigned null case. Chomsky, Lasnik (1993) proposed that null case licenses PRO.

3. Null subject in gerundive clause

In different minimalist account of control (Chomsky & Lasnik 1993: Martin 1996, 2001: Boskovic 1997), PRO is an independent element in the lexicon and in the numeration, and it has also been argued that PRO can only be licensed by being assigned null case in a [+tense] non-finite domain. For example:

7 *Bill preferred PRO being late for dinner.*

Here PRO is put in null-case position of gerundive tense clause. Furthermore, PRO is in complement position of the matrix verb.

In Oriya PRO is also assigned null case and positioned in a [+tense] of gerundive clause. For example:

8 *Jita PRO Dakataripadhibaa pasandakala.*

Jita preferred PRO reading medical science.

Here PRO occurs in tense position of gerundive clause and whole gerundive clause is complement of matrix verb. PRO is here assigned null case and holds tense (TP) feature.

There is a class of gerunds that is related to gerundive clause but can be distinguished by several properties including the fact that they only license a control null subject (PRO) and these gerunds only allow a [-tense] interpretation.

Stowell (1982) first discusses this type of gerund and later Acrisio Piras (2007) and others discuss about such type of gerund. This gerund cannot have a tense specification distinct from the matrix clause and these gerunds license pro. For example:

9 *John (PRO) showing up at the game was a surprise to everybody.*

Here pro is in null- case but holds of [-tense] feature. The tense feature of pro is not distinct from *John*. Here tense feature of gerund clause is checked by John.

In Oriya *pro* positioned in null-case and holding (-tense) is also occurred. For example:

10 *tutu French PRO kahibaa samastanku aacharjaya karidela.*

Tutu speaking French astonished to everybody.

Here gerund clause *French kahibaa* has null-subject but this subject does not hold tense feature of *kahibaa*. Where Tutu as NP in matrix sentence contains tense feature of gerundive clause. The tense features of gerund and matrix verb are one element here.

Now we have already discussed two types of PRO as empty categories remain null-case in subject position of gerundive clause. These two categories of PRO in gerundive clause can be divided into two categories:

- (1) Obligatory control (OC) PRO (we can say big PRO)
- (2) Non-obligatory control (NOC) PRO (we can say small pro)

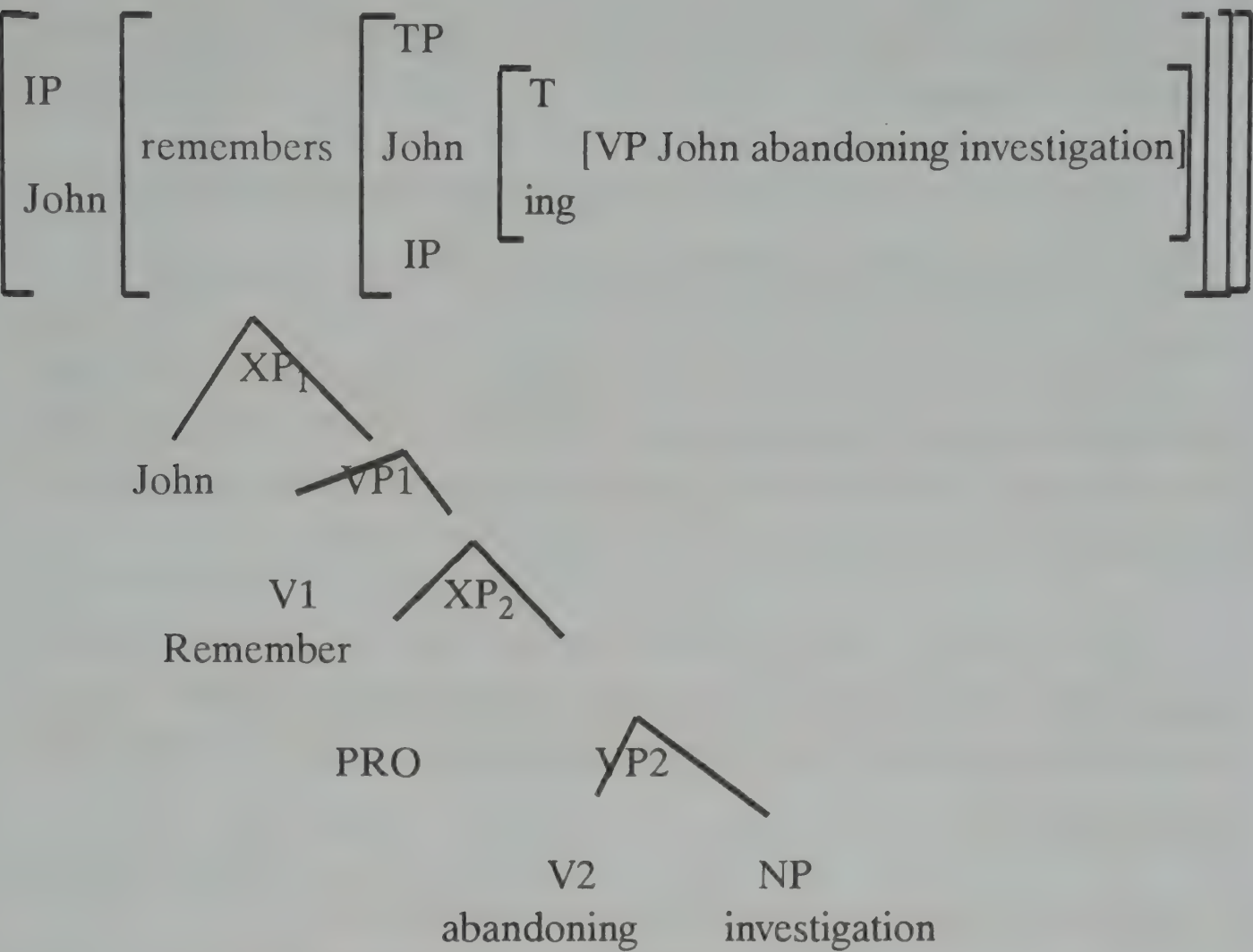
3.1 Obligatory control in gerundive clause of Oriya

In the construction of obligatory control PRO seems unavoidable. Here PRO is to be a copy resulting from the movement of the controller - DP. Such movement is the residue of A-movement. This movement is not operated on tense feature but on formal feature and case-feature specification.

Since obligatory PRO is like A-movement obligatory control (OC) PRO must have an antecedent. Secondly, the antecedent of (OC) must be local. Thirdly, the antecedent must c-command the PRO. For example:

11 *John remembers PRO abandoning investigation.*

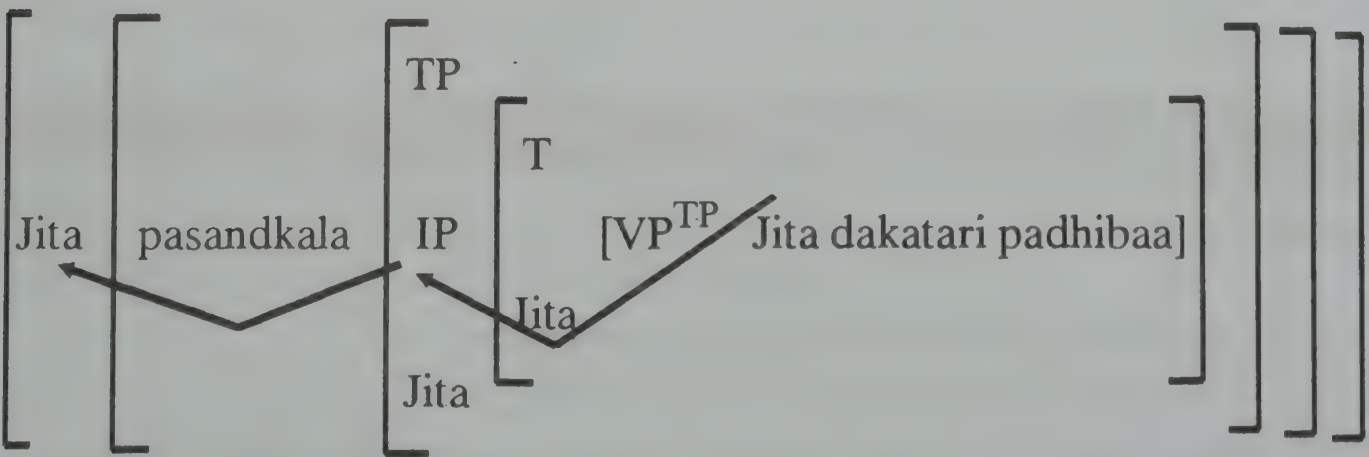
Here, the antecedent of PRO is John and it holds double θ -roles; one is the subject of matrix and other is the subject of 'gerund construction. Secondly, antecedent maintains local relation with PRO. For example:



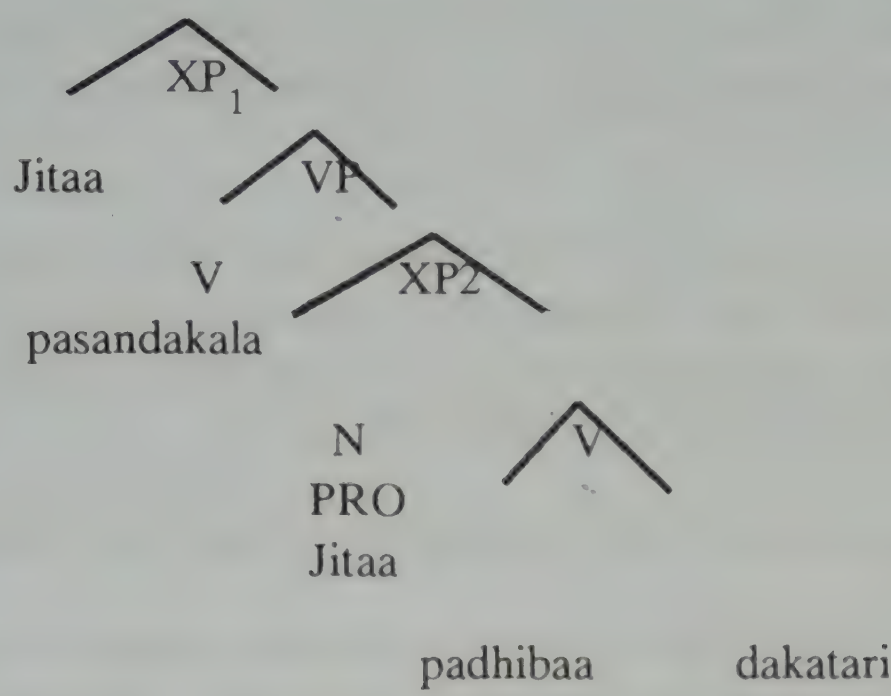
Here John and PRO both are contained and dominated by XP₁. So they are in local relation and they asymmetrically c-command to each other (see Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005: 213).

In Oriya (OC) PRO is positioned in complement position of verb and complement of postposition. For example:

12 *Jita PRO dakatari padhibaa pasanda kalaa.*



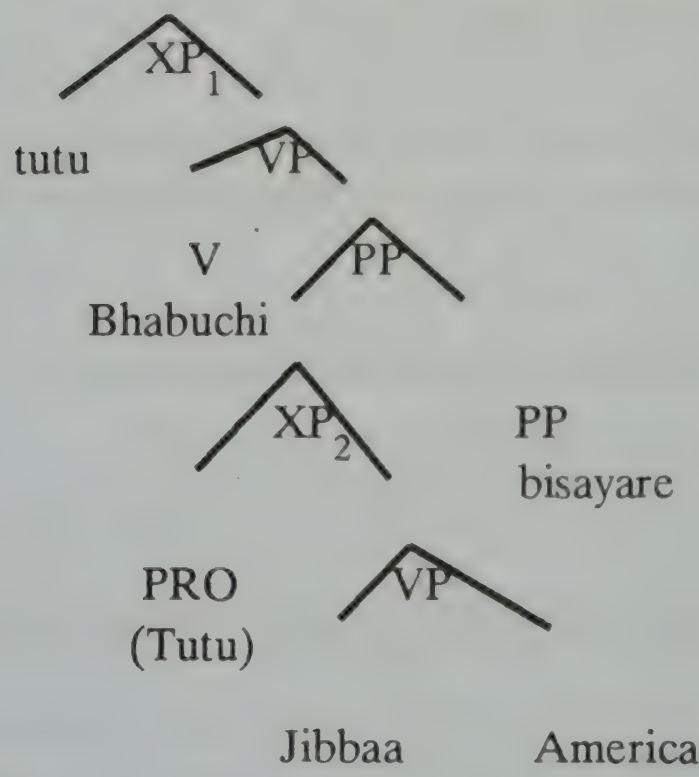
Oriya language follows SOV word order in its underlying form and it is derived from universal base form SVO (See Kayne 1994). Here the basic structure of sentence is discussed.



XP_1 contains and dominates both *Jitaa* and *PRO*. Therefore, both c-command to each other and they are in local relation of x_1 .

Second (OC) *PRO* occurs in complement of postposition in Oriya. For example:

13 *tutu America Jibaa bisayare bhabuchi.*
Tutu is thinking about going to America.



Here XP_1 contains and dominates both, *Tutu* and *PRO*. Therefore, both are in local relation and they c-command each other. Here Tutu has double θ -roles as subject of gerundive clause and Subject of matrix sentence. In both positions Tutu and *PRO* have tense

feature that is the inflected element of verb. Further, Tutu and PRO occur in EPP (extensional projection principle) of matrix verb and gerundive clause.

Obligatory control (OC) PRO can not have split antecedents, if (OC) PRO results from A-movement, the impossibility of split antecedents can be explained by the fact that two different DPs in the clause cannot move from the same base position.

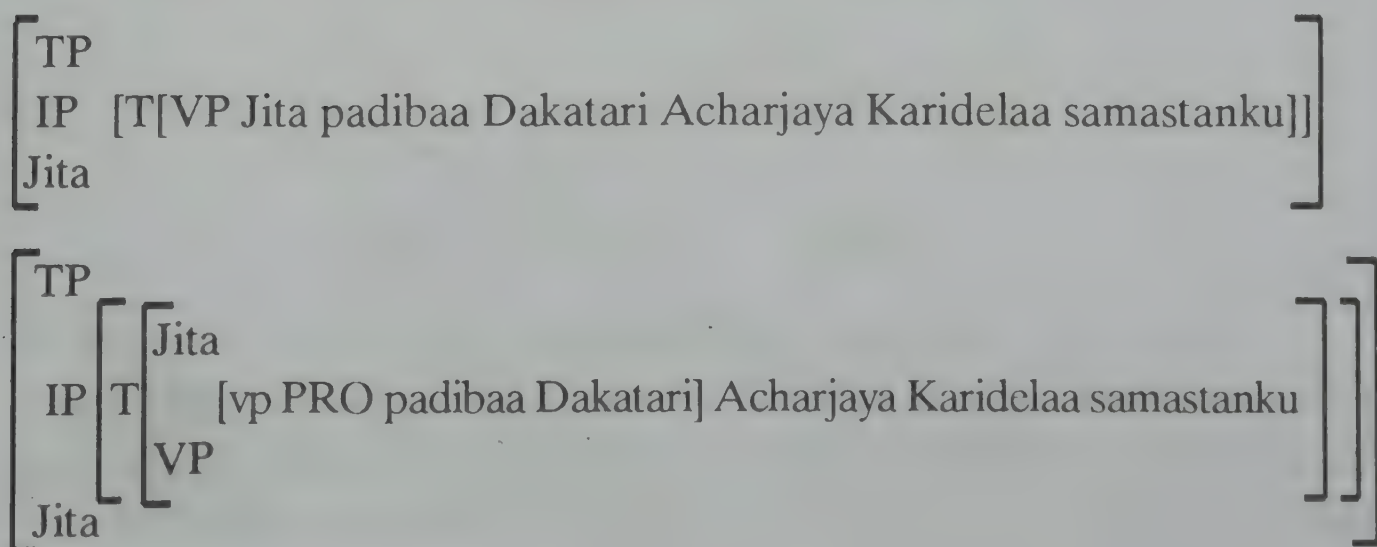
3.2 Non-obligatory control (NOC) in gerundive Clause (GC) of Oriya

Gerund constructions (clause) in subject position of matrix clause are the only instances where NOC pro occurs: NOC pro does not require an antecedent. If it has an antecedent, the antecedent does not need to be local. The antecedent does not need to c-command NOC pro. Hornstein (1999) argues that instances of NOC pro are distinct from OC PRO in that they can not be analyzed as the residue of A-movement. He assumes that they are instances of 'pro' (small) in order to eliminate PRO as an element of the grammar. Standard instances of PRO are then re-analysed as either copies left behind by A-movement (OC PRO) or instances of PRO (NOC pro). The pro is present across language in general - its occurrence is much more widespread in standard pro-drop languages.

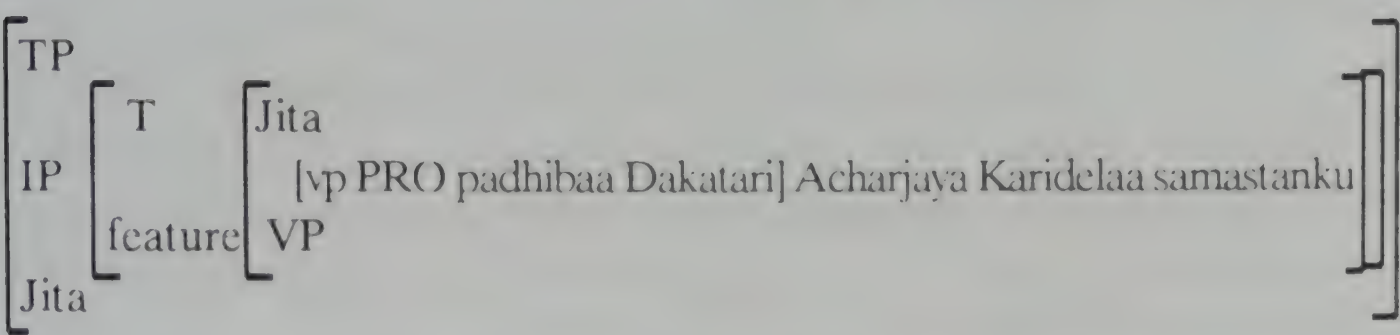
In Oriya small 'pro' occurs in subject position of gerundive clause and that gerundive clause occurs in Subject position of matrix sentence. For example:

14 *Jita [dakataripadhibaa] samastanku aacharjya karidela.*

Jita studying medical science astonished to everybody.



Here gerund has no tense feature which is distinct from tense feature of subject (Jita) of matrix sentence. Here there is no A-movement, hence antecedent is not expected. Further, there is no c-command relation between PRO and subject of matrix sentence.



If gerund has tense feature, it must have EPP position, where *Jita* moves for case checking. If it is so, then a crucial problem will be created in feature checking operation; the problem is the matrix verb has also a tense feature and it has EPP. The TP of matrix VP will move to that EPP position to check nominative case of matrix NP (*Jita*). If gerund has tense feature then it can not move to EPP position and it cannot check nominative case of *Jita* because the EPP position is already filled up by TP of matrix Verb. Therefore, two TPs will create problem in feature checking operation. So here *pro* has no distinct tense feature. Hence a small *pro* is required here.

We have already analyzed the core concept of gerund constructions. It is projected from [+ tense] TP. One final point here is one might expect these gerund clauses a CP (Complement Phrase) as well.

In English gerund clause is not CP (Complement Phrase). Recently Acrisio Pirase (2007) has debated on it.

In Oriya, gerundive clause is defined as complement phrase (CP).[see Patnaik 1967: 146, Nayak 1987: 58, Bijaya Ball 1990]. Nayak argues that Oriya has three complementizers, viz. *je*, *boli* and *ra*. Further, it is said that only *ra* occurs in gerundive clause as complementizer and it makes the gerundive clause subordinate to main clause. Moreover, it has been analysed that *ra* is final complementizer; it is placed in the final position of gerundive clause.

Following minimalist account of compliment phrase(CP) we do not consider the existence of final complementizer as independent

element in languages. Kayen (1994) has given a asymmetric syntactic hypothesis as a universal proposal of sentence structure in which he considers that only clause with initial complementizer is universal base form and clause with final complementizer is derived from that base form in the process of movement.

If we follow Kayen's proposal about compliment clause, the gerundive clause with final complemetizer is not assumed as compliment clause. Secondly, if *ra* is assumed as initial complementizer in gerundive clause a crucial problem is created in feature checking operation. This problem is considered below.

15 *Polis [raam chorikaribaa-ra] dekhile.*

Police saw Ram stealing.

The bracketed clause is gerund clause which holds -*ra*.

Here we explore the relevance of *ra* in Oriya complement clause. In this exploration we follow the framework of 'Derivation by phase' which is explained by Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004).

In this hypothesis phase is a derived syntactic unit. It is formulated by operation of merge. Minimalists say 'C' as a complementizer is a phase, it has formal features (see Hornstein, Nunes & Grohman 2005: 332). In this sense, if *RA* is a complementizer it must move to initial position of IP. Now we will explore the above sentence in this hypothesis.

16 *Polisa [Rama chorikaribaara] dekhile.*

Police saw Rama stealing.

Phase 1 (a) [VP chorikariba (ra)]

(b) [VP V {p:?: N:? strong-V} [chorikariba (ra)]]

(c) [VP chorikaribaa + V {p:3; N:SG; strong-V} [vp ti (ra)]]

(d) [VP Rama {p:3; N:SG:case:?} [V' chorikaribaa + V(ra)]]

(e) Spell-out: [VP ti Rama {p:3; N:SG:Case:Acc}] = \checkmark

The computational system builds the C (complementizer) which already existed in the final position of the gerundive clause. The (C) *ra*

here will move to initial position of gerundive clause. But before moving of *ra* to initial position of GC the nominal case of Rama in GC will be checked. After that *ra* will move to initial position. It will be implemented in phase (2).

Phase 2 (a) [TP T {p:?, N?:strong} [VP Rama {p:3; N:SG:Case:?} [V' chorikaribai + (ra) VP]]]

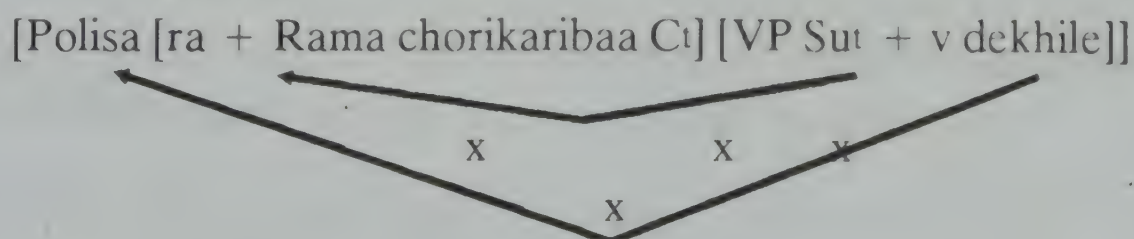
(b) [TP Rama {p:3; N:SG:Case:Nom}k [T' T {p:3; N:SG; strong} [vp tk [V' chorikaribaa + V + ra VP]]]]

Now (C) as *ra* will move from final position to initial position of gerund clause.

(c) [CP ra [TP Rama {p:3; N:SG, Case:Nom}k [T' T {p:3; N:SG; strong} [vp tk [v' chorikaribaa + V + (raⁱ) VP]]]]]

Spell-out [TP Rama {p:3; N:SG; Case:Nom}k [T' T {p:3; N:SG; Strong} [VP tk [V Chorikaribaa + V + VP]]]] = √

At this stage the matrix verb *dekhile* has TP. It moves to EPP position to check nominative case of *polisa* which is subject of matrix verb. Therefore *polisa* should move to initial position of sentence to check its nominative case. If *polisa* will move initial position of sentence it has to skip two syntactic phases. These are complementizer (*ra*) and *Rama chorikaribaa* (IP). Because CP is placed between matrix subject and matrix verb in Oriya, which has SOV word order in its underlying structure. The movement of *polisa* from theta domain of matrix verb to initial position of object will violate the principle of minimality which is based on principle of equidistance. Therefore the sentence will be ungrammatical. For example:



From this analysis we assume that *ra* is not complementizer. It is a postpositional affix in Oriya. It has certain meaning of possession.

The *ra* postpositional marker in Oriya can be compared with *ke liye* in Hindi and *bole* in Bangla. For example:

17 *Mene Madhu se bethane ke liye kaha.* (Hindi)

I told Madhu to sit down.

18 *Cheleta orbaba asbe bole suneche.* (Bangla)

In these sentences *ke liye* in Hindi, *bole* in Bangla are postpositional suffixes.

Therefore, we do not agree with the assumption that *ra* is complementizer and gerundive clause with *ra* is compliment phrase in Oriya. From the above analysis, *ra* seems to be postpositional suffix and, It has definite meaning of possession.

To sum up, we can say that Oriya has only one *Je* complementizer. It occurs in both finite and non-finite clause. *boli* and *ra* are not complementizers, they are postpositional suffixes.

Boli occurs in the finite embedded clause. *ra* is a postpositional suffix which occurs only in gerundive clause in Oriya. Since *ra* is not complementizer in gerundive clause of Oriya. The gerund clause is not CP. It is IP.

4. The derivation of gerundive clause of Oriya

Derivation is a syntactic computation that operates with syntactic objects and yields the pair of interface; PF and LF. In derivational process of sentence two aspects are crucially important; language faculty and computational system.

The language faculty consists of lexicon, and the computational system is the real process of derivation in which lexicon takes place. Computational system does not have direct access to the lexicon, but take a numeration as the repository for the items that feeds the derivation.

In the derivation of gerundive clause the operation merge and move take important role where operation of feature checking explained by (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004) is implemented.

To explain the properties of GC, we emphasize on the three important aspects which apply to the GC that allow alternation between overt and null subjects:

- (A) The inflectional head corresponding to *-ib-aa* in Oriya gerundive clause carries a feature specification that forces the occurrences of GCS in positions accessible to case valuation.
- (B) In the derivation of a GC, the case-feature of its external argument DP can be valued within the GC itself. For example:

19 *tutu /khusi gita gaibaa/ pasandkare.*

Tutu likes Khusi singing song.

- (C) The external argument DP can move out of the GC before it values the case feature of this DP, which yields a null-subject gerundive clause. For example:

20 *John /French kahibaa/ samastanku aascharjaya karidela.*

John speaking French astonished to everybody.

According to the rules in (B) and (C) gerundive clauses with overt subject and null-subject are distinct from each other. However, there are no syntactic feature distinctions between the gerundive clauses with an overt versus and null subject.

To account for principle (A) it is proposed here that not only the external argument DP of a GC, but also its root node (a tense head) carries an (un)interpretable case feature that needs to be valued under this approach. The need of T of the GC itself will be a goal for case valuation. If the DP subject can move out of the GC before the case feature as the 'T' head of GC is valued, a standard obligatory PRO construction is licensed. Further, the case requirement of GC is formalized below.

- (A) The tense (TP) head of a GC carries an uninterpretable case feature that needs to be valued. Therefore, TP itself is goal in case position of matrix verb and it is also probe for DP of gerundive clause.

- (B) A probe cannot value an uninterpretable/unvalued feature of its goal while the probe itself has an uninterpretable/unvalued feature of the same kind.

Here (A) is a formalization of case feature of gerundive clause and (B) is described in the analysis by the fact that the 'T' of GC can value the case feature of a DP only after its own (valued) case feature has been valued by an appropriate probe.

The general architecture of derivation of gerundive clause is described by feature checking/valuation theory as recent approach to the minimalist program (e.g. Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001).

Given this architecture, the head of a GC - its Tense head - is taken to display three other properties.

- (A) It has an EPP feature that needs to be checked.
- (B) It enters the numeration as/defective.
- (C) When the Tense (T) head of the GC (a probe) matches/agrees with the embedded subject DP (a goal), the DP merges in spec, TP of the GC to check EPP and values the features of T.

In the approach of feature valuation which is adopted here, the functional heads V and 'T' in gerundive clause carry uninterpretable/unvalued features. Both V and 'T' can probe the derivation for matching active goals that can check the uninterpretable/unvalued/features of V and T. A DP has interpretable/feature and enters the derivation with an uninterpretable/unvalued case feature that makes it active to induce Agree with a probe. The case feature of the DP is valued after the DP enters into match/agree with a functional head that is complete. Both the head (probe) and the matching DP (Goal) have to be active to enter into a match/agree relation. Only uninterpretable/unvalued features activate a probe and a goal. Once the functional head T (the probe) of a finite clause and the subject DP, the goal enter into match /agree the uninterpretable case feature of (the goal) DP and the uninterpretable feature of T are valued, overt movement to Spec, TP is necessary to satisfy an EPP requirement. In the case of gerundive clause T is defective but it can still attract its subject DP to satisfy its EPP requirement.

Now, we consider how this architecture can account for the core properties of gerundive clause in the derivations that follow. We represent the head T of the embedded gerundive clause as Agr to make its status clear in different derivations.

4.1 Derivation of gerundive clause with null-subject

Gerundive clause with null-subject results from A-movement of the subject embedded gerundive clause to the matrix clause. It is called OC PRO in gerundive clause.

Now, we will draw the derivational process of the gerundive clause with null-subject. For example:

21 *Jita PROdakatari padhibaa pasandakala.*

Jita preferred reading medical science.

Here we assume that h-roles can be assigned through movement and only by first merge (see Bosvkvic 1994; Lasnik 1995; Bosvkvic & Takahashi 1998; Hornstein 1999, 2001). The idea is that h-roles can also be assigned in the course of the derivation, and are satisfied not in a configuration but in a set of configurations (i.e. transformationally).

In example (21), the head Agr of the GC starts/-defective and with an uninterpretable case feature C Agr.

Jita dakataripadhipa pasandakala.

Jita preferred reading medical science.

We have already discussed that Oriya follows SOV word order and it is derived from universal base form of SVO (Kayne 1994). The base form of this sentence is given below.

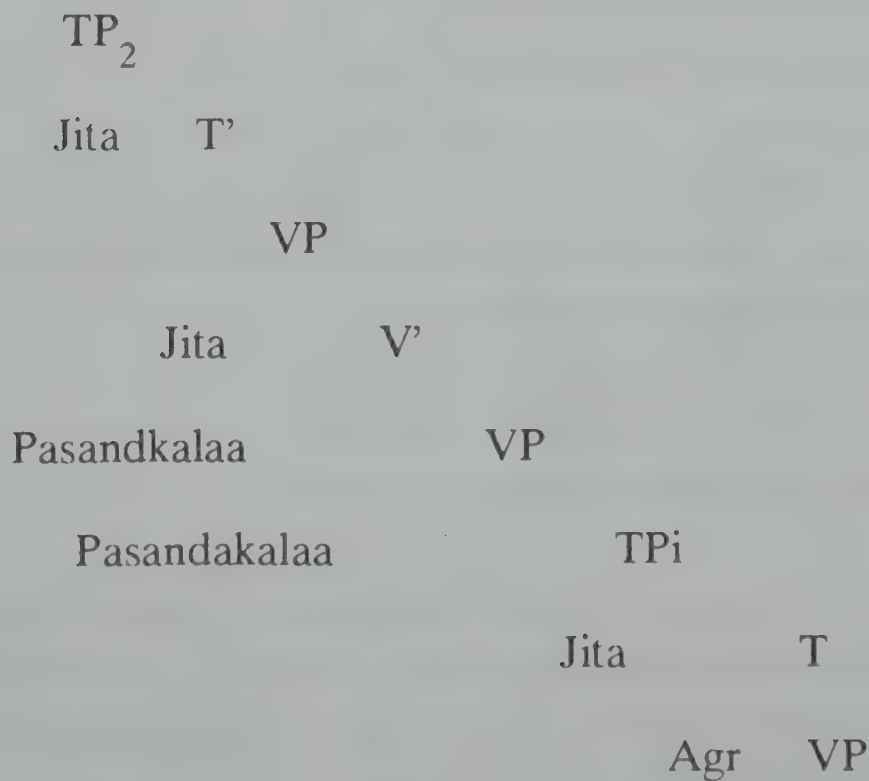
22 *Jita pasandakalaPROpadhibaa dakatari.*

Jita preferred reading medical science.

Here, in (A) Jitaa merged in gerundive clause and in (B) it enters into match/agree with Agr. So it moves to Spec, TP for EPP checking and values the set of Agr by agree. Crucially, valuation of the set of the Agr by the DP (Jitaa) eliminates its defectiveness. However

that Agr still has an uninterpretable case feature at this point and case valuation of the embedded subject DP (Jitaa) cannot yet take place because the probe (TP of gerund) that carries an uninterpretable case feature that cannot value the case of its goal until its own case feature has been valued.

- (A) [T Agr [VP Jita Padhibaa dakatari]]
C, Agr (theta domain of Gerund)
- (B) [TP John [T Agr [Jita padhibaa dakatari]]]
EPP/∅ C Agr e/C
- (C) [VP Jita [V pasandakalla [VP pasandakalaa [TP₁ Jita
2e/C C Agr
[T Agr [VP Jita padhibaa dakatari]]]]]]]
EPP/∅ e.
- (D) [TP₂ Jita [T [VP Jita [√ pasandakalaa [VP pasandakalaa
∅/C/EPP 2e C Agr EPP/∅
[TP₁ Jita [T' Agr [VP Jita padhibaa dakatari]]]]]]]]]
EPP/∅ e.



In (C) as the matrix V is inserted in the derivation the embedded GC is assigned the propositional internal H-role of the matrix V. When matrix V enters into the derivation, it attracts embedded DP *Jitaa* and assigns an agent h-role to it. The matrix verb then matches/Agrees in features with the embedded Agr in gerundive clause and values the uninterpretable case feature (C, Agr) that Agr still carries (C). Finally, *Jitaa* moves from matrix Spec, VP to Spec, TP to check its own uninterpretable case feature and the EPP feature on T that is analyzed in (D). The complete derivation is represented in (e).

The important fact is, when matrix 'V' is inserted into the derivation (C), it carries an external h-role, the uninterpretable/-feature that allows it to enter into the match/agree operation that will value the case of the embedded GC. The sequence in which h-role assignment and case valuation take place is entirely restricted by the fact that this is the only possible convergent derivation of sentence (22). Crucially, the order of steps in the derivation is also fully compatible with cyclicity (see Chomsky 1995: 225-10) which is satisfied at all points. More specifically, at the point matrix V is inserted in (C). It assigns a h-role to the embedded DP, which moves to the matrix VP external argument position. Before the derivation leaves the matrix VP cycle, the matrix V values its uninterpretable features and the case feature of the embedded GC. Furthermore, the embedded DP and the embedded Agr are equidistant from the probing matrix V. If one adopts the idea that they are in the same minimal domain in the embedded clause being both accessible to the operation that take place at the point matrix V is inserted C. Also, Agr, the embedded DP and the matrix V are all available within the same strong phase represented by the matrix VP.

Another important thing is why only null subject is only licensed in this sentence. If the matrix verb 'pasandakalaa' (in C) valued the case of agr before *jitaa* moved out of spec, TP1, it would also allow agr to value the case feature of *Jitaa* in spec TP1. if *Jitaa* is casé checked in TP1, *Jitaa* would effectively be prevented from raising to the matrix clause. However, the matrix subject h-role and the EPP feature in spec, TP2 would end up not being satisfied, because *Jitaa* would now be in active further match/Agree relations and would no longer be able to move out of the embedded clause. The absence of DPs in matrix EPP that can satisfy matrix spec, TP yields a crash in the derivation. Further,

the only possible derivation of the null subject in gerundive clause can make the derivation convergence.

Now we will consider the core case involving an overt subject within the gerundive clause.

4.2 Derivation of gerundive clause within overt subject

23 *Jita [khusi gitagaibad] pasandakare.*

Jita prefers Khusi singing song.

The base form of this sentence is given below.

[Jita pasandakare [khusi gaibaa gita]]

(A) [T Agr [VP khusi gaibaa gita]]

C Agr e/C

(B) TP_1 khusi [T' Agr [VP khusi gaibaa gita]]

EPP/ \emptyset C Agr e/C

(C) [V' pasandakare [VP pasandakare [TP_1 khusi [T Agr

C Agr

EPP/CE

[VP khusi gaibaa gita]]]

(D) [TP_2 Jita [T' [VP Jita [V' Pasanda kare [VP pasandakare

e/C/EPP

C Agr

[TP_1 khusi [T Agr [VP John [V' gaibaa gita]]]

EPP/Ce

Here derivation of the sentence (2) proceeds in the same way as sentence (1), but this similarity stops after the step in (23B) when matrix VP is generated in 2(C), the derivation proceeds differently from (22), Clearly because at this point (step C). *Jita* is still available in the numeration where as the numeration of (22) did not have this additional DP. Crucially, the existence of two different numerations rules out any condition of (22) and (23) as competing derivation, given

that they do not share the same numeration. Besides this difference, there is in fact only one path that can lead to convergence in the derivation of (23). Here matrix V matches/agrees with Agr (the tense head of the GC), valuing the case feature of Agr in (23). At this point, the case feature of the embedded DP *Khusi* can also be checked and this is done by Agr of the GC, with which the DP *Khusi* has already established an agree relation. Case valuation of the DP *Khusi* is possible only at this point because this is place where the case of the gerundive clause itself has been valued.

Notice furthermore that there is no violation of cyclicity regarding case valuation. It is only when the matrix V is merged that both the case feature of the gerundive clause and the case feature of the embedded subject *Khusi* can be valued and both instances of valuation take place in this order at this point in (23C) as determined by the features at play here.

Finally, in (23D) the matrix subject *Jitaa* merge in Spec, VP where it checks the matrix external h-role, and raises to Spec, TP to check the EPP feature and its own case feature.

Here the differences between the two sentences are the difference choice of numeration in each case. In one case embedded subject moves out in case the host GC has not yet checked its own features yielding a GC with a null subject and OC properties as in (22). In the other case, after the GC has already checked its own case feature, the embedded subject can only check its features internally to the GC, and freezes in its embedded position, yielding a GC with a lexical subject as in (23). But for the latter to yield convergent derivation an additional argument DP need to be available in the numeration as it happens with *Jita* in (23). In sum, there is no issue of optionality involving a comparison of the derivations of (22) and (23) because the two cases correspond to different numerations.

Conclusion

Through this investigation it is proved that a gerund construction in Oriya has both morphological and syntactical relevance. A gerund mainly takes *-ib-aa* morpheme which is inflection that converts gerund into clause. A gerundive clause is IP in Oriya not CP. Further, the

gerund clause in Oriya occurs in subject, object and complement of postposition of matrix sentence. The gerundive clause can take overt subject and null subject. The existence of structures such as GCs which license overt subjects and control null subjects exactly in the same context raises significant problems for theories of case and of control. This paper analyzed these problems by following a minimalist theory of grammar in which the possibility of two types of subjects in gerundive clauses results from the interaction of the same grammatical mechanisms. The ones involved in case and agreement valuation. This paper also describes that GC with null subject is a mechanism of A-movement. And there is no syntactic feature distinction between GC with overt subject and null subject.

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STRESS PATTERNS OF ARABIC BORROWED WORDS IN ORIYA

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Madras

Abstract

In a language contact situation, languages borrow words from and give words to other languages. The question arises whether speakers impose the stress patterns of their language on borrowed words or retain the stress patterns of the donor language. This study examines the stress patterns of some words in Oriya that are known to have been borrowed from Arabic, and their counterparts in Arabic, the donor language. Data was collected from eighteen speakers of Oriya, using a picture-naming task, and the pronunciation of the words was recorded. The recorded data was analyzed by applying the metrical stress theory (Hayes, 1995; Goldsmith, 1990).

Keywords: strong stress, extrametricality, prosodic word, mora, foot, iambic, trochaic

1. Introduction

Lexical borrowing is one of the features of a language contact situation. Speakers have a tendency to rearrange or repair the segmental features, the onset and coda clusters of borrowed words while adapting words from other languages (Weineirch, 1953; Smith, 1997:1-54; Paradis & LaCharite, 1997; LaCharite & Paradis, 2005; Uffmann, 2006:1079-1111; Rose & Demuth, 2006:1136; Koul, 2008; Mishra, 2009:87-90). Explaining the syllable structure of English borrowed words in Hindustani, Singh (1985:269-282; 1998:21)

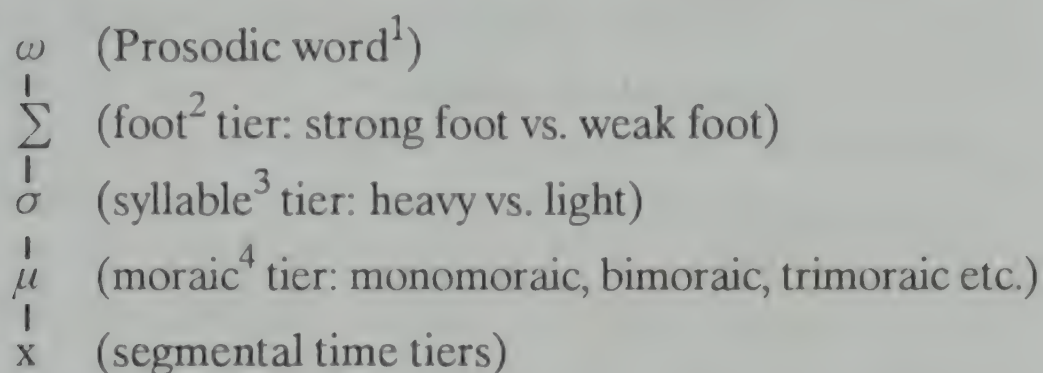
formalizes the onset cluster simplification rules such as epenthesis and prothesis which are conditioned by the sonority features of word initial (C_1 of # ___ C_1C_2) clusters.

Although several studies have examined the segmental features of borrowed words and their comparison with donor counterparts, fewer studies have looked at the prosodic features such as stress patterns of borrowed words. Examples of the latter are the study of stress patterns of English borrowed/loanwords in Fijian (Kenstowicz, 2007:316-340) and Norwegian (Rice, 2006:1171-1194). It has been noted that Fijian preserves the strong stress of English borrowed/loanwords. This is largely achieved by Fijian speakers by lengthening a vowel to satisfy the foot binarity or allowing a lapse in the alternating stress patterns. For example, Eng. [$^1k\text{ɒ}l.\text{ə}.ni$] ‘colony’ and Fij. [$^1ko:.lo.ni$], Eng. [$^1fi:.və^r$] ‘fever’ and Fij. [$^1fi.va$], Eng. [$^1kæb.ln$] ‘cabin’ and Fij. [$^1ke:bi.ni$] etc. Similarly, the stress patterns of English loanwords in Norwegian differ from the stress patterns of Norwegian native words. It is evident that the disyllabic Norwegian words receive the strong stress in an initial syllable which is usually heavy, whereas the unstressed-final syllable is light. In contrast to this native stress pattern, the strong stress falls on the open final syllable of English loanwords in Norwegian - for instance, Eng. [$^1aI\text{ə}.r\text{ə}.ni$] ‘irony’ and Norw. [$i.ro.^1ni$], Eng. [$^1k\text{ɒ}p.i$] ‘copy’ and Norw. [$ko.^1pi$], etc. Examining the accent patterns of English loanwords in Japanese, a study shows that loan words display remarkably different accent patterns from the native Japanese words (Kubozono, 2006: 1140-1170). This study notes that the English loanwords clearly favour the accented pattern over the unaccented one, whereas the native words exhibit an entirely opposite tendency by taking the unaccented pattern in most cases. Considering all these observations, one can say that the stress patterns of borrowed words do not necessarily follow the stress patterns of native words. Different languages treat borrowed words differently.

A review of studies on the stress patterns of borrowed words suggests three possibilities. The speakers of a borrowing/recipient language may: (1) preserve the stress patterns of donor/source words, or (2) imitate the stress patterns of native words, or (3) create new stress patterns. The analysis of data from Arabic and Oriya in the present study demonstrates that the stress patterns of Arabic borrowed words follow these three possibilities.

This paper tries to analyze and explain the stress patterns of Arabic borrowed words in Oriya by comparing the Arabic donor and borrowed words, using the theoretical framework of metrical phonology. Both the borrowed and donor words have been presented in the frame of metrical trees to observe: (1) syllabic conditions and (2) positions of strong stress. Therefore, the prosodic units of a word (ω) such as foot (Σ), syllable (σ), mora (μ) and segmental time (x) are hierarchically organized from top to bottom as shown in the metrical tree in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. shows the hierarchical unit of prosodic word.



1. The prosodic word (Pr.Wd = ω) is composed of feet and syllables. It is the domain in which 'strong-stress or peak prominence' is defined with respect to its hierarchical prosodic units such as foot, syllable and mora. Hierarchically, every Pr.Wd (ω) contains a main-stressed foot, every foot contains a stressed syllable and every syllable contains a mora, a unity of syllable quantity.
2. A foot is a metrical constituent which is typically made up of two syllables in a sequence of strong (σs) plus weak (σw) or weak (σw) plus strong (σs) syllables. Precisely, feet are binary under moraic and syllable analysis. Moreover, syllables are parsed under a higher node i.e., foot. This can be presented in a simple binary notation: $\Sigma(\sigma s + \sigma w)$ or $\Sigma(\sigma w + \sigma s)$. In a quantity sensitive language, the feet are binary, whereas in a quantity insensitive language, some syllables are not clustered or bounded by a foot (i.e., unbounded foot). The head of the foot (i.e., strong stress syllable) is placed on either the left (trochaic) or the right (iambic) edge of the foot.
3. A syllable is a prosodic constituent which is made up of segments such as vowel/s (V) and consonant/s (C), where the vowel (or the most sonorant segment) is the nucleus or rhyme. The segment/s preceding the nucleus (V) is called the **onset** and segment/s following the nucleus is called the **coda**. The weight of the syllables is measured as heavy and light: (1) a syllable whose rhyme contains either a long vowel or a diphthong and a coda is categorized as heavy and (2) a syllable which has neither a branching nucleus nor a coda is classified as light. Usually, the heavy syllables receive the strong stress. Similarly, there are two types of syllables: (i) the close syllables and (ii) the open syllables: (a) an open syllable does not have a coda (-coda) and (b) a close syllable has a coda (+coda).
4. A **mora** is a unit of quantity or duration of a syllable which is usually symbolized by the Greek letter ' μ ' ("mu" or [mju] in English). According to moraic theory, a

The metrical tree in fig.1 shows that every prosodic word (ω) has at least a peak prominence or strong stress. Since stress refers to the relative degree of prominence of syllables such as weak and strong, the structure of a syllable such as heavy or light can determine the conditional feature⁵ of weak and strong stress. Usually, the heavy syllable which has double moras receives strong stress as compared to a monomoraic light syllable. Similarly, the clustering of strong and weak syllables under a foot (Σ) provides an explanation to the positional features of strong stress. It determines the position⁶ of strong stress, whether it occurs on the right side (Iambic) or the left side (Trochaic) of the foot (e.g. $\Sigma[{}^l\sigma\sigma]$ or $\Sigma[\sigma{}^l\sigma]$). It also provides an explanation to the positional occurrence of foot as a whole, whether it occurs on the right or left edge of the prosodic word. To define the weight-to-stress principle (WTS), the syllable weight such as heavy ($\sigma\mu\mu$) and light ($\sigma\mu$) can be measured with respect to the unit of syllable length i.e., mora (μ). According to WTS principle, the heavy syllable which has at least two moras (i.e., bimoraic syllable) usually attracts the strong stress as compared to the light syllable which has only one mora, when both these syllables occur in a prosodic word. If a language follows the WTS principle, the heavy syllable must be stressed, or stressed syllables must be heavy. In addition, the light syllables must be unstressed and the unstressed syllable must be light. At the end, the segmental time tier (x) which measures the number of segments after the nucleus provides a

syllable's quantity is a function of its number of weight-bearing units or moras (Hayes, 1989; Keger, 1999). Mora counts the number of segments or length of a segment under the rhyme of a syllable. Since mora refers to the unit of length of a syllable, the syllable that contains a long vowel, diphthong, or a short vowel plus consonant is categorized as a bimoraic syllable, because it contains two moras. A syllable that contains a short vowel is called monomoraic, if it has no further segments at the right side. So, a coda consonant has mora value whereas an onset consonant does not. For example, the CV unit is a monomoraic syllable ($\sigma\mu$), whereas the VC unit is a bimoraic syllable ($\sigma\mu\mu$).

5. Strong stress is conditioned by the weight of a syllable such as (1) heavy and (2) light. Usually, the heavy syllables are stressed and the stressed syllables are heavy, and the light syllables are unstressed and unstressed syllables are light. The weight-to-stress principle (WTS) is conditioned by the structure of a syllable. This can be considered as a conditional contextual feature of the strong stress.
6. The positional occurrence of strong stress primarily depends on the foot because the foot holds a strong and weak stress. The head of the foot i.e., the strong occurs either in the left side or right of the foot. If the head of the foot occurs in the left side, then it is categorized as trochaic position of strong stress. Otherwise the strong stress occurs in the right side of the foot i.e., iambic.

base line for numbering the mora such as CV = [x] = [$\sigma\mu$], CVC = [xx] = [$\sigma\mu\mu$] etc. All these prosodic units are organized in the frame of metrical trees⁷ to observe the peak prominence or strong stress of some Arabic borrowed words in Oriya.

The paper is organized as follows. It begins with Oriya and its stress patterns (in section 2 and 2.1.). This is followed by a sketch on Classical Arabic and its stress patterns (section 3 and 3.1). A discussion of the methods (section 4) and the data analysis and interpretation follow (section 5). Finally, the summary and conclusions have been presented (section 6).

2. Oriya

Oriya is the state language of Orissa. It is a branch of the Eastern Indo-Aryan family of languages. Though Oriya is basically an Aryan language and is believed to have developed from Magadhan Apabhramsa (Chatterjee, 1926:105-8), it has two distinct substrata: (1) Dravidian and (2) Munda (Mohanty, 2008: 1-20; Mahapatra, 2007:2). It had been in contact with Dravidian, Munda and Sanskrit or Prakrit during the proto/pre-historic period. Thus, Oriya scholars believe that the foundation of Oriya culture, including language, is the product of conglomeration of three major civilizations: the Arya, the Dravida and the Savara (i.e. the Munda). In the medieval and modern periods, Oriya has had contact with Arabic, Persian, Portuguese and English. It is evident that Oriya has enriched its vocabulary by borrowing words from these languages. Therefore, the Oriya lexicon is largely classified into four classes of words from the point of their etymology, such as

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7. It is a graphical representation of the relative prominence of word or phrase stress. The tree is a binary branching structure with each pair of nodes labelled as strong + weak or weak + strong.
 8. Deśaja words are indigenously coined words which are believed to have been used in Oriya for ages. Deśaja words also include words assimilated into Oriya from Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic languages, since Oriya has always come in contact with both these languages. The Oriya words that are believed to have originated from the: (a) Indigenous, (b) Dravidian, (c) Austro-Asiatic sources are given below.

For example, (a) Indigenous sources: /go.d̪/ 'leg', /m̪.la.t̪/ 'cover', /ce.r̪/ 'root', /ku.ta/ 'straw', /khaɳ.t̪i/ 'pure', /t̪.p̪.r̪/ 'joke' etc. (b) Dravidian sources:

(i) *Dešaja* or *des*⌈⌋⁸ (ii) *tatsama* or *t*⌈⌋*sch*⌈⌋*m*⌈⌋⁹ (iii) *tatdbhava* or *t*⌈⌋*tdbh*⌈⌋*b*⌈⌋¹⁰ and (iv) *Videši* or *jab*⌈⌋*nik*⌈⌋/*b*⌈⌋*idesik*⌈⌋¹¹ (foreign words). Considering the works of Mahanta (2009:101-126), Majumdar (1970: 204-218) and Chatterji (1970), the following section describes the stress patterns of Oriya words in the framework of metrical phonology¹².

2.1 Stress patterns of Oriya (Dešaja) words

Oriya does not show lexical contrastive stress pairs like English and Hindi words. Like every language, Oriya has a peak prominence/strong stress on the syllable of a word. Consider the stress patterns of the following disyllabic Oriya (*desija*)¹³ words in the metrical trees in ((i), (ii), (iii) and (iv)) in fig.2.

- * In disyllabic words, the strong stress falls on the penultimate syllable (i.e., pre-final such as: (¹σ.σ) when (a) the penultimate and ultimate syllables have equal strength of heaviness (as data shown in

/pila/ 'child', /sa.n⌈⌋/ 'small', /bi.l⌈⌋/ 'land' etc. and (c) Austro-Asiatic sources: /ba.ti/ 'pot', /bo.ka/ 'foolish', /ko.d/ 'twenty' etc.

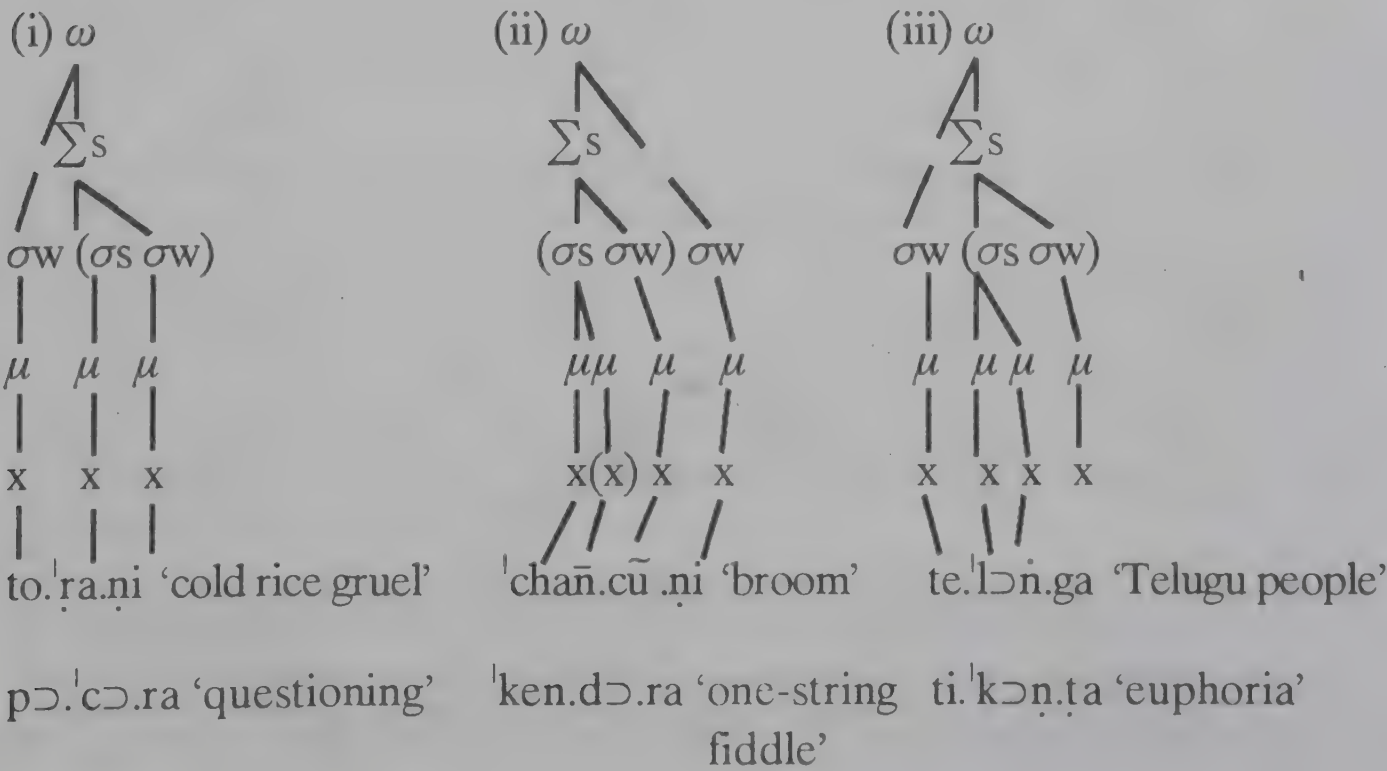
9. A *tatsama* is a word which has the same form as it has in Sanskrit. In other words, *tatsama* words are unassimilated loan vocabulary from Sanskrit. In practice, *tatsama* is used for a word which has the same spelling (but not necessarily the same pronunciation) as in Sanskrit. For example, /stri/ 'wife' /⌈⌋g.ni/ 'fire', /n⌈⌋.di/ 'river', /n⌈⌋.g⌈⌋.r⌈⌋/ 'city', /h⌈⌋s.ti/ 'elephant', /cit.r⌈⌋/ 'picture' /k⌈⌋r.m⌈⌋/ 'action' etc.
10. A *tadhaba* word is a word which is historically derived from Sanskrit via Prakrit, has now a different form of pronunciation. For example, /ka.th⌈⌋/ 'wood', /ka.n⌈⌋/ 'ear', /na.c⌈⌋/ 'dance', /ha.ti/ 'elephant', /ma.ch⌈⌋/ 'fish', /mi.tha/ 'sweet' etc.
11. *Videši* words are those which are believed to have come from foreign languages like Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Portuguese and English. Persian words in Oriya are: /g⌈⌋.ri.b⌈⌋/ 'poor', /m⌈⌋.di.da/ 'flour', /c⌈⌋.s⌈⌋.ma/ 'spectacles' etc.; Arabic words are: /k⌈⌋.li.ʃa/ 'liver', /um⌈⌋r⌈⌋/ 'age', /⌈⌋.k⌈⌋.l⌈⌋/ 'intelligence' etc.; Turkish words are: /ku.li/ 'coolie', /caku/ 'knife', /b⌈⌋burci/ 'cook'; Portuguese words are: /acar⌈⌋/ 'pickles', /t⌈⌋.ma.khu/ 'tobacco', /bal.ti/ 'bucket' etc.; English words are: /k⌈⌋p/ 'cup', /tebul/ 'table', /k⌈⌋.leʃ/ 'college' etc. (Mohanty, 1970; Mahapatra and Das, 1978; Padhi, 1988; Pradhan et al, 1995; Mahapatra, 1997; Sarangi, 1998 cited by Ray, 2003).
12. A branch of phonology concerned with the relative prominence of syllables in words or phrases.
13. These *desija* words are collected from the Oriya dictionary as per their etymology (Padhi, 2005).

- an onset position, or (2) if it ends with an open heavy syllable (as data shown in fig.2 (i)).
- * Despite the occurrence of high-sonorant vowel [a], the ultimate syllable fails to receive the strong stress if it contains the sound [r, h, ŋ, l, ɭ] in its onset position, which may weaken the vowel [a] in the ultimate position (as data given in fig.2 (ii)).
 - * The strong stress occurs on the left side (e.g. trochaic) of the foot \sum ($\sigma_s \sigma_w$) when the penultimate syllable receives strong stress in a disyllabic word. In this case, the position of the strong stress is on the trochaic position of the foot (as data illustrated in fig.2 (ii), (iii) and (iv)).
 - * Contrary to this trochaic position, the strong stress is on the right side (e.g. iambic) of the foot \sum ($\sigma_w \sigma_s$), when the ultimate (i.e., final) syllable receives the strong stress in disyllabic words. In this case, the position of the strong stress is in the iambic position or on the right side of the foot (as data demonstrated in fig.2 (i)).

Let us now examine the stress patterns of trisyllabic Oriya words as illustrated in the metrical trees in fig.3 (i), (ii) and (iii).

Fig. 3

Metrical trees illustrate the stress patterns of Oriya trisyllabic words in a sequence of (i) L + L + L (ii) H + L + L and (iii) L + H + L syllables



m᳚.᳚᳚.᳚r᳚ 'pea'	¹ au.᳚i.ba 'lean'	ba. ¹ u᳚.᳚ga 'wicked person'
m᳚.᳚᳚.᳚᳚ 'hard'	¹ ᳚a᳚.k᳚.᳚᳚ 'wicked person'	
o. ¹ sa.r᳚ 'wide'	¹ ᳚a.ha.᳚᳚ 'anxious for food'	
᳚. ¹ ᳚a.᳚᳚ 'bad place'	¹ kh᳚.᳚᳚.᳚ti. 'narrow spade'	

- * In trisyllabic words, the strong stress falls on the penultimate syllable (1) if the penultimate syllable is heavy or (2) if it contains the most sonorant vowel [a]¹⁴ which is followed and preceded by the weak ultimate and antepenultimate syllables respectively. These conditional features of strong stress are illustrated in data in fig.3 (i) and (iii).
- * If the penultimate syllable receives strong stress, the position of the strong stress is on the left side (e.g. trochaic) of the foot in the sequence of $\sum s$ [᳚w (¹᳚s.᳚w)], and the extrametrical weak syllable node is also parsed on the left edge of the prosodic word (see data given in fig.3 (i) and (iii)).
- * The antepenultimate syllable receives the strong stress, when (a) it is heavier than the penultimate and the ultimate syllables or (b) the penultimate syllable contains the sound [r, h, ᳚] in the onset position (as data shown fig.3 (ii)).
- * If the antepenultimate syllable receives the strong stress, the position of strong stress is on the left side (e.g. Trochaic) of the foot such as $\sum s$ [(¹᳚s.᳚w) ᳚w]. The extrametrical weak syllable node is parsed in the right edge of the prosodic word rather than the left edge (as data illustrate in Fig.3 (vii)).

14. The central low [a] is historically longer than any other vowels in Oriya. For example, the Prakrit word /r᳚᳚a/ 'king' which has become [r᳚¹᳚a] 'king' in Oriya. This example shows that the vowel [a] of the ultimate syllable [¹᳚a] is relatively longer than the vowel [᳚] of the penultimate syllable [r᳚]. Moreover, the syllable which contains the vowel [a] receives strong stress, except when other syllables are heavy.

Considering these observations, one can say that the strong stress falls on the penultimate or the antepenultimate syllables in the di/trisyllabic words in Oriya (as data given in fig.2 (ii), (iii), (iv) and in fig.3 (i), (ii), (iii)), except in the case of an ultimate open heavy syllable in disyllabic words (as data shown in fig.2(ii)). Studies show that strong stress is always on the penultimate syllable (i.e. initial in the case of disyllabic words) or on the antepenultimate syllable (e.g. initial in the case of trisyllabic words) if it is not followed by an immediate long vowel [-a], or diphthong or a close syllable, in which case the strong stress shifts to the second syllable (Majumdar, 1970:214). For example, [hɔ̌.si.ba] 'laughing' vs. [hɔ̌.ˈsei.ba] 'make someone laugh'. Chatterji (1926) states that stress in modern Oriya is on the penultimate syllable. Criticizing all these conditional and positional features of strong stress in Oriya, Mahanta (2008) argues that the strong stress in Oriya, both phonologically and phonetically, does not go beyond the initial syllable. The low pitch and longer duration of vowels are associated with the strong stress, which is always fixed in the word initial position. The present study shows that the strong stress does not fall on the ultimate syllable except when there is an occurrence of heavy syllables in disyllabic words. Therefore, one can say that the strong stress always falls in the non-final position of trisyllabic words in Oriya.

For examining the stress patterns of Arabic borrowed words, this study examines not only the stress patterns of the borrowing language, Oriya, but also the stress patterns of the donor language, Arabic. Let us now examine the stress patterns of Classical Arabic (Watson, 2007:79-121; Comrie, 1987:671-72; McCarthy, 1979:68-72).

3. Classical Arabic

Arabic is a Semitic language, a branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family (Belnap, 2005:74). The original homeland of speakers of Arabic is the central and northern regions of the Arabian Peninsula (Watson, 2007:6) where the new religion Islam was promoted by the Prophet Muhammad, especially in Saudi Arabia, at the end of sixth century CE. With the advent of Islam, Classical Arabic gradually took the place of Old Arabic¹⁵. Classical Arabic soon became the vehicle of literature, religion, culture and science.

15. Although the pre-Islamic Arabs had a highly developed poetic tradition, they did not have a prose or academic literary tradition. Therefore, there was a demand

3.1 Stress Patterns of Classical Arabic

Although the classical Arabic grammarians do not mention word stress, it is generally accepted that Classical Arabic had it. Proto-Semitic probably had free stress (from Hetzron (1992:413) cited by Watson (2007:79)). The following stress rules of Classical Arabic are illustrated in the work of MacCarthy (1979:68) and Goldsmith (1990:197).

- * The strong stress falls on the super heavy ultimate (i.e., final) syllable, as in /šii'čaa¹m/ ' ', /ka.¹tabt/ 'I wrote', /fa.la.¹hīn/ 'peasants' etc.
- * Otherwise, the strong stress falls on the penultimate or antepenultimate (i.e. pre-final or pre-pre-final) heavy syllable such as /ki.¹taa.bun/ 'book' (nom.sg.); /ma.naa.¹dii.lu/ 'kerchiefs', /yu.¹šaa.ri.ku/ 'he participate', /slaa.¹paa.žəm/ ' ', etc.
- * If there is no heavy syllable in both the penultimate or anti-penultimate positions, then the first syllable is stressed such as /¹ka.ta.ba/ 'he wrote', /¹mam.la.ka.tun/ 'kingdom' (nom.sg), /¹ba.la.ha.tun/ 'date' (nom.sg), etc.

In Classical Arabic, these conditions of strong stress can be illustrated in metrical grids¹⁶ and trees to observe the position of the strong stress in a foot. The extrametrical¹⁷ grids < * > that are assigned

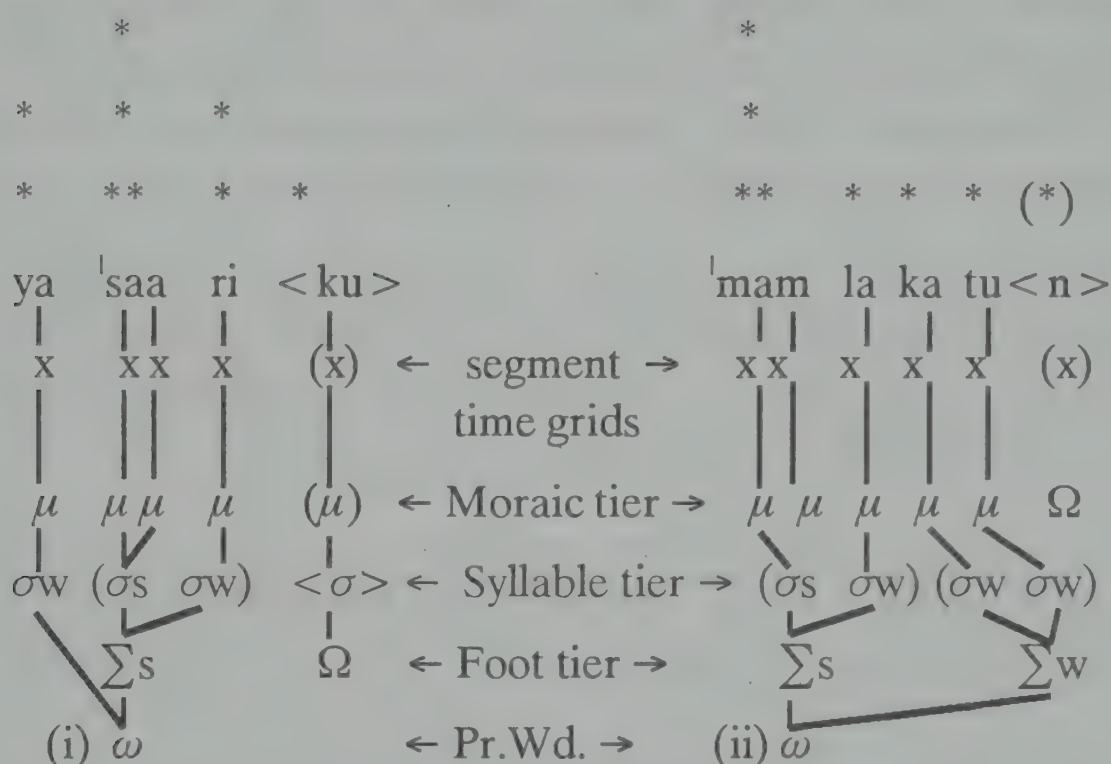
for the emergence of Classical Arabic (Belnap, 2005) after the advent of Islam in Sixth century CE. In contrast to this statement of the origin of Classical Arabic, Fischer (1992:91) states that Classical Arabic occurs in some inscriptions from the 2nd century CE onward. In its fully developed form, however, it appears first in pre-Islamic poetry, and then in the Qur'ān, during the first half of the 7th century. After the expansion of Islam, Classical Arabic became the literary language of Islamic civilization, used by all educated people, whatever their mother tongue. In the 19th and 20th centuries, it went through a process of revival, and developed into a linguistic medium for all areas of modern life, that gave birth to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which is now the official language of almost all Arab countries.

16. A graphical representation of the relative prominence in a word or phrase. The horizontal axis consists of slots associated to the syllables of the word. The vertical axis consists of a number of levels, corresponding to the syllables, the foot, the word and so on. The prominence at a particular level is marked by the addition of (*) above the relevant syllables.
17. Like Classical Arabic, many languages (such as English) extra segmental material appears at the end of word that could not be syllabified according to

to the final syllable or final consonants occur at the right edge of the prosodic word in Arabic. This final extra-syllabic segment plays a role in the assignment of strong stress. Data in fig.4 (i) show that due to the extrametricality of <n>, the ultimate heavy syllable [tun] has been changed into a light syllable [tu]. As a result of this extrametricality (Ω), the strong stress has been shifted from the ultimate to the ante-antepenultimate (i.e., initial) syllable. It also shows that the heavy syllable always receives the strong stress in Arabic.

Fig. 4

Metrical grids and trees show that the strong stress is in the non-final position due to the right edge extra-syllabicity in (ii) and segment in (i)

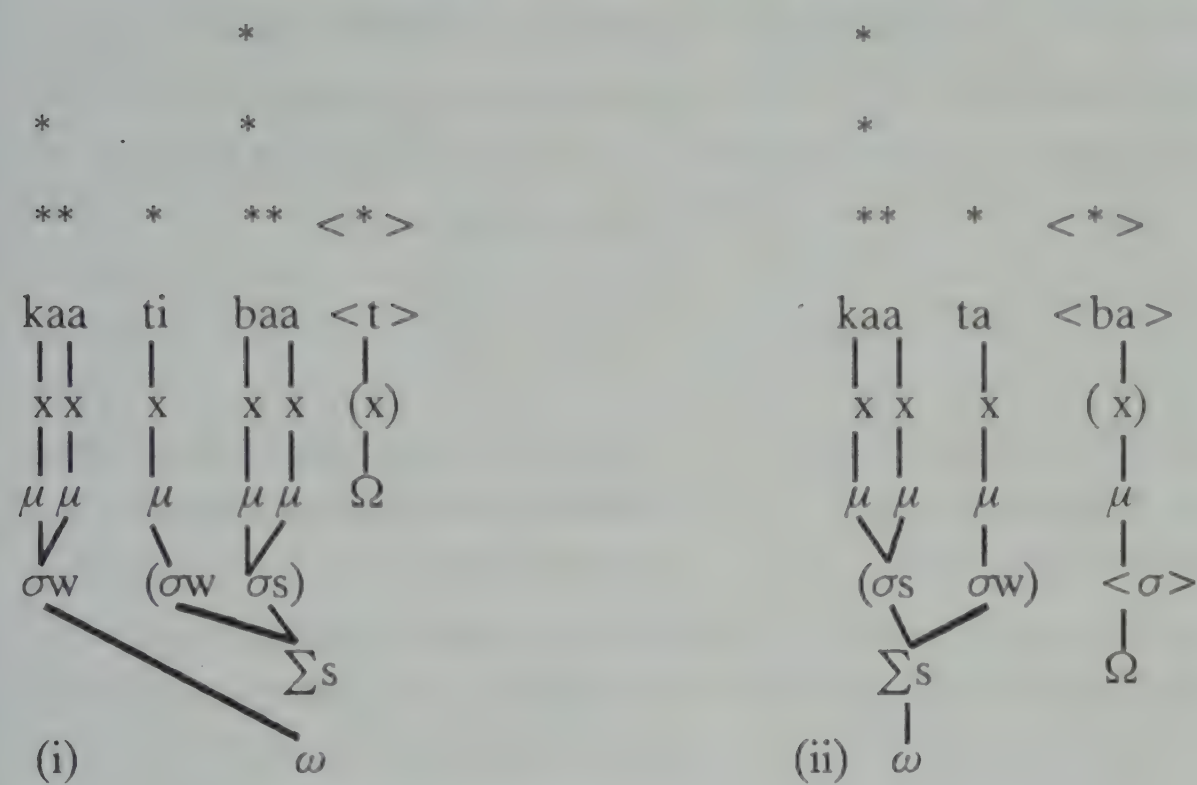


the principles that appear to hold word-internally. This extra material at the end has been called a termination, an appendix, or has been said to be extra-syllabicity. For example, the final consonant of super-heavy syllables is extra-syllabic and is not incorporated into an adjacent syllable in Arabic. This notion derives from the possibility that consonants may fail to become syllabified during the syllabification procedure and thus be hanging in limbo (see the extrametrical consonant in metrical trees in fig.4. (ii) and fig.5. (ii)) waiting for a syllable to come along for them. Similarly, the final mora is also extrametrical. Since the mora is extrametrical, the syllable under a final mora is also extrametrical as data shown in fig.4. (i) and fig.5. (ii) (Goldsmith, 1990:202). Extrametricality is subject to the peripherality condition. That means, a constituent may be extrametrical only if it is designated edge (left or right) of its domain (originally from Hayes, 1981, 1995 cited in Watson, 2007: 90). In Classical Arabic as well as other dialects of Arabic, the extrametrical units occurs right edge of the prosodic word. This can be presented in a simple rule: $x \rightarrow \langle x \rangle / _\#$ where the unit 'x' represents a final consonant of super heavy syllable or mora of an unbounded foot.

- * Data in the metrical grids and trees in fig.4 (i) and (ii) show that the heavy syllable receives the strong stress, and the position of the strong stress occurs on the left side of the strong foot i.e., trochaic.

Fig. 5

Metrical grids and trees show that the strong stress falls on the ultimate and penultimate heavy syllables in Arabic



- * The metrical trees in fig.5 (i) and (ii) show that the strong stress falls on the ultimate (e.g. final) and the penultimate (i.e., pre-final syllable) heavy syllable respectively. Moreover, the heavy syllable always receives the strong stress in Arabic. The heaviness of a syllable has to be checked from a right to left direction such as (a) ultimate → (b) penultimate → (c) antepenultimate → and (d) ante-antepenultimate etc.
- * If the strong stress occurs in the ultimate syllable position, then the strong stress is on the right side (e.g. iambic) of the foot as in fig.5 (i). In reverse, if the strong stress falls on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable, then the strong stress is on the left side (e.g. trochaic) of the strong foot as in fig.5(ii).

The stress patterns of both the donor (Arabic) and borrowing (Oriya) languages differ in the following ways as pointed out in table 1.

Table 1
A comparison between stress patterns of Arabic and Oriya word

Arabic	Oriya
<i>Semitic branch of Afro-Asiatic family</i>	<i>Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European family</i>
1. Stress is on super-heavy ultimate syllable.	1. Stress is on penultimate syllable, except if the ultimate syllable is heavy in disyllabic word.
2. Otherwise, Stress is on rightmost penultimate heavy syllable.	2. Stress is on right most penultimate heavy syllable in trisyllabic words.
3. Otherwise, stress is on first syllable.	3. Otherwise stress on the first syllable.
4. Heavy syllables are stressed as per the weight-to-stress (WTS) principle.	4. Largely, strong stress occurs on the penultimate position of a prosodic word.
5. Strong stress occurs on the right side of the foot i.e. iambic, in the case of ultimate syllable.	5. Except in one condition e.g. disyllabic heavy, the position of strong stress is on the left side of the foot i.e., trochaic.
6. Strong stress occurs on the left side of the foot i.e. trochaic, in the case of penultimate or ante-penultimate syllable.	6. Since Oriya does not permit the super-heavy syllable with a coda consonant at the right edge, there is no occurrence of extrametrical segments.
7. The final consonant of ultimate super-heavy syllable is extrametrical.	

Table 1 shows that Oriya does not permit the super-heavy syllable at the end of words, whereas Classical Arabic largely does. It is evident that the final consonants or syllables are extrametrical¹⁸ in Classical Arabic.

18. The final extrametrical consonants or syllables can be integrated into the larger structure of word because they are part of the prosodic system, not at the syllable level, but directly at the word level.

4. Methodology

This section illustrates the manner in which data was collected for this study. Eighteen Oriya respondents were randomly selected in the two coastal districts of Orissa - Kendrapara and Jagatsinghpur. Ten speakers from Kendrapara and eight speakers from Jagatsinghpur, in the age range of 25-40, were selected for the collection of pronunciation of isolated Arabic borrowed words. Out of the 18 speakers, seven speakers were farmers and daily labourers with no formal education or schooling (uneducated), and the remaining 10 speakers were educated up to class ten. Seven speakers were more or less monolingual. That means, they could speak only Oriya and some Arabic, Persian, Portuguese and English borrowed words. As compared to these seven uneducated speakers, the ten speakers who had formal education up to tenth were daily labourers, and most of them had worked for two to three years in New Delhi and Hyderabad. Therefore, most of them were bi/multilingual. They could fluently speak, write and read Oriya and Hindi. Though they had very little exposure to English as a language, they frequently used English words while speaking Oriya. Both the monolingual uneducated and bi/multilingual educated (up to 10th) speakers were conveniently incorporated as the target population for this study.

Since borrowed words are part of Oriya language and culture, and most of the words are more than five hundred years old, both the uneducated and semi-educated speakers could produce the nativized features of Arabic borrowed words. Moreover, these speakers were conveniently judged to test whether the foreign words had already been incorporated into Oriya or whether they were used only by educated speakers. The convenient sampling technique was adopted to select the speakers for this study.

A picture-naming task was adopted for the collection of data. For preparing this picture task, a set of nine pictures, for which Arabic borrowed words are generally used, were collected by capturing the photographs of the objects. The respondents were shown the colour prints of nine pictures on a sheet of paper and asked to name the pictures orally. They were given time to look at the pictures and figure out the name of the pictures accordingly. Since the nine pictures

contain the nouns such as (1) [sabunu] 'soap', (2) [okɪɪɪ] 'lawyer', (3) [ɔphɪmɔ] 'opium', (4) [khɔbɔ:rɔ] 'news', (5) [khɪsmɪsɪ] 'dry grape', (6) [ʃahɔ] 'ship', (7) [nɔksa] 'land map', (8) [kagɔ] 'paper' and (9) [ta:sɔ] 'playing card', that are used by native Oriya speakers in their day-to-day conversations, they had no difficulty in figuring out and naming them. The purpose of using visual stimuli was to prevent them from reading the words. For this reason, these isolated words were not presented either orally or in writing. The pronunciation of isolated words was preferred as it is a natural, spontaneous and unconscious process, when compared to the pronunciation of the orthographic representation of isolated words. Another reason for selecting this method of data collection was to enable uneducated speakers who lacked the reading skill of Oriya to pronounce the words.

All these words were recorded by using a mini cassette recorder. All the recordings were carried out in the speakers' (informants) residences to provide a natural setting. The speakers have been named OS₁, OS₂, OS₃...OS₁₈ (see the Annexure 1 and Annexure 2). Recorded data was transformed to the system and then transcribed into IPA (IPA version as appears in Pullum and Ladusaw, 1996). In the process of transcription, the diacritic markers have also been assigned to each vowel and consonant. The vowel length marker [:] is used to designate the double vowels or long vowels. The strong stress marker [ˈ] was assigned to the syllables after observing the vowel length, pitch and intensity of the syllables of the recorded words. At the time of transcription, the minute spoken variations of borrowed words that were produced by Oriya speakers were tabulated by marking plus '+' and minus '-' in the columns as presented in annexures 1 and 2. A particular variation that had been produced by the majority of speakers was selected for the purpose of analysis. For example, the Arabic word [ta:s] 'playing card', has two variables such as [ta:sɔ] and [ta:s] in Oriya, but most of the Oriya speakers prefer [ta:sɔ] rather than [ta:s] (Annexure 1). For the purpose of analysis and observation, the borrowed form [ta:sɔ] has been tabulated in annexure 3.

Further, to support the findings of this study, five Arabic borrowed words such as (1) [phɔɪsɔla] 'solve', (2) [tarɪkhɔ] 'date' (3) [ɔsɪlɪ] 'original' (4) [dɔlalɔ] 'broker' and (5) [okadɔ] 'power' are also cited in this paper as per the pronunciation of Oriya speakers. These

five words belong to the verbal and abstract adjectival (nominal) categories. They have been collected from the secondary sources (Padhi, 2005) and directly presented in the form of IPA (metrical trees in fig.15 (9.3), (9.4) and (9.5)).

Similarly, the donor Arabic words have been collected from the Arabic dictionary (Steingass, 2005) and the linguistic literature (Watson, 2007; Goldsmith, 1990). All the donor Arabic words have been presented in the IPA and assigned the strong stress [^ˈ] marker by following the rules of Arabic stress patterns as mentioned in the literature (MacCarthy, 1979:68; Goldsmith, 1990:197). The stress patterns of both Arabic donor words and their counterparts in the borrowing language 'Oriya' are presented (in annexures 1 and 2) for comparison.

Since the syllable is a stress-bearing unit, both the Arabic donor and borrowed words are syllabified at the time of data tabulation as shown in annexure 3. Data tabulation largely follows the analytical procedures of metrical and auto-segmental theory¹⁹. In this respect, a classification has been made to observe the syllable weight such as light (σ_L) and heavy (σ_H). The length of a syllable which largely measures the weight has also been presented by assigning the mora (μ) unit. That means, the monomoraic monosyllable (i.e. ($\sigma\mu$)) is comparatively lighter than the bimoraic monosyllable (i.e. ($\sigma\mu\mu$)). If a language obliges the weight to stress principles (WSP), then the bimoraic monosyllable receives the strong stress. Further, to observe the positional occurrence of strong stress such as the left side or the right side (L|R) of a word, the syllables are parsed or clustered into a foot. A foot, which is a bigger unit than a syllable and usually occurs above the syllable node, largely holds a strong and weak syllable. In this manner, both the borrowed as well as donor Arabic words have been tabulated and presented in the form of prosodic units such as foot (Σ), syllable (σ) and mora (μ) to measure the positional and conditional features of strong stress as shown in annexure 3. Tabulated data are analyzed and interpreted in the following section.

19. The metrical and auto-segmental theory largely measures the suprasegmental features of strong stress by analyzing the various prosodic units such as foot, syllable, mora etc., and their interaction in the form of metrical trees and grids (*).

5. Data Analysis and Interpretation

5.1. Stress patterns of some Arabic borrowed words in Oriya

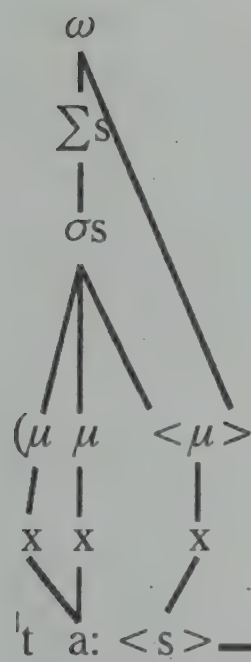
To analyze the strong stress patterns of Arabic borrowed words with respect to their donor counterparts, the words are presented in the metrical trees. All the prosodic units of Arabic words (ω) such as foot (Σ), syllable (σ), mora (μ) and time (x) are organized from top to bottom in each diagram as data shown in fig.6 (1.1) and (1.2).

A. Disyllabic Arabic borrowed words in Oriya

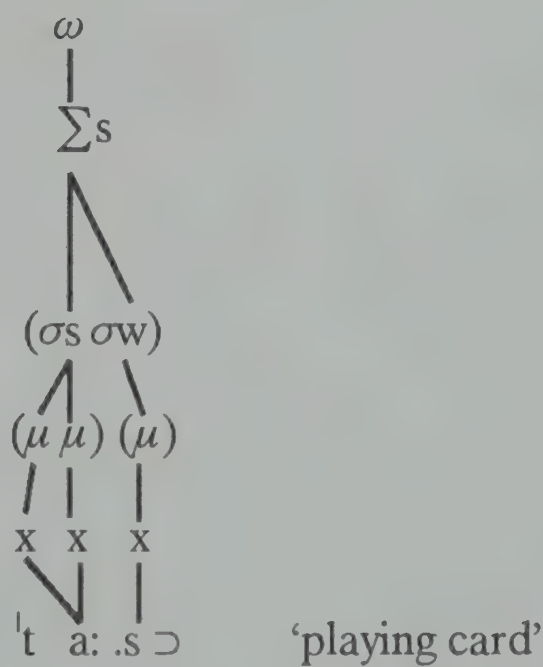
Fig. 6

The stress patterns of monosyllabic Arabic and its disyllabic borrowed counterparts in Oriya are illustrated in the form of metrical trees (1.1) and (1.2)

(1.1) Arabic word



(1.2) Arabic borrowed word in Oriya



- Data in fig.6 (1.1) and 1.2) show that the trimoraic monosyllabic Arabic word [tɑ:s] changes into trimoraic disyllabic word [tɑ:sɔ] in Oriya. Two moras are distributed under the penultimate syllable [t a:] of [t a: s ɔ] which is considered as heavier than the monomoraic ultimate syllable [sɔ] in Oriya. The heavy open penultimate syllable [ta:] receives the strong stress, whereas the light ultimate syllable [sɔ] receives the weak stress. It needs to be seen why Oriya speakers distribute the double moras in the penultimate position rather than ultimate. It seems that the ultimate position does not attract mora

because it is a weak position from the point of view of prosody in Oriya. Usually, Oriya does not allow the strong stress in the ultimate position. To disallow the strong stress, Oriya speakers have a tendency to epenthesize a vowel and form a light syllable in an ultimate position.

- Since Oriya has no contrastive vowel length distinction, one cannot tolerate the occurrence of double vowels [a:] in the borrowed words [ta:sɔ]. It is true that Oriya has no phonemic contrast between short and long vowels, but in certain contexts the perceptual differences between long and short vowels are phonetically observed. Consider the dialectal variation of the Oriya word /tasɔ/ from /casɔ/ 'agriculture' and its long counterpart of double [aa] or [a:] in the borrowed Arabic word [ˈta:sɔ] 'playing card' where the length of [a:] and [a] makes a perceptual difference. Long vowels have been categorized as vowel clusters or double vowels in Oriya. The syllable which contains similar double vowels or diphthongs receives the strong stress, when other syllables are light.
- We have seen even more clearly that a double vowel [aa] is longer than a single vowel [a] and a single vowel [a] is relatively longer than any other vowel. For example, Oriya words that contain the double vowel [aa] or [a:] /ma:rɔ/ 'mothers', /ta:rɔ/ 'his', /ba:rɔ/ 'twelve', etc. make phonetic contrast with [a] of /marɔ/ 'beat', /tarɔ/ 'electric ware', /barɔ/ 'day' respectively. In all these cases, the strong stress falls on the penultimate syllable, because it contains the vowel [a], whether it is short or long, which is longer than the vowel [ɔ] of the following ultimate syllables. This condition of strong stress in Oriya is also applicable to the Arabic borrowed word [ˈta:sɔ]. As a result, the penultimate heavy syllable that contains [a:] vowels receives the strong stress.
- The heavy syllable [ta:] which contains two moras and occurs in the left side (e.g. trochaic) of the foot of the prosodic word [ˈta:sɔ] receives strong stress/peak prominence whereas the ultimate mono-moriac syllable [sɔ] receives weak stress or weaker prominence.

On the other hand, data in fig.7 (2.2) show that the [a] of the ultimate (e.g. final) syllable of [ˈnɔk:sɑ] is neutral and free from its usual

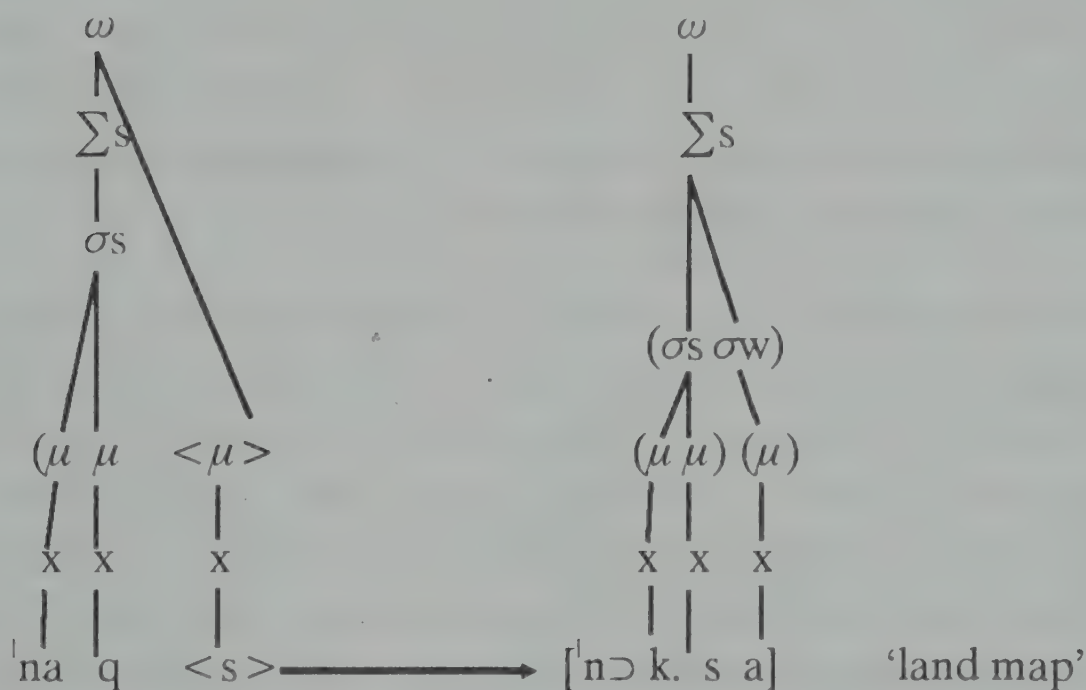
long length because (a) it occurs in the weak prosodic position, (b) it is an epenthetic vowel and (c) the previous syllable contains two moras. To distribute the last two moras of Arabic words under a penultimate syllable, Oriya speakers have epenthesized the vowel [a] at the end of an ultimate syllable. Ultimately, it gives a license to the heavy penultimate syllable for receiving the strong stress.

Fig. 7

Metrical trees illustrate the stress patterns of a monosyllabic Arabic word and its disyllabic borrowed counterpart in Oriya in (2.1) and (2.2) respectively

(2.1) Arabic word

(2.2) Arabic borrowed word in Oriya



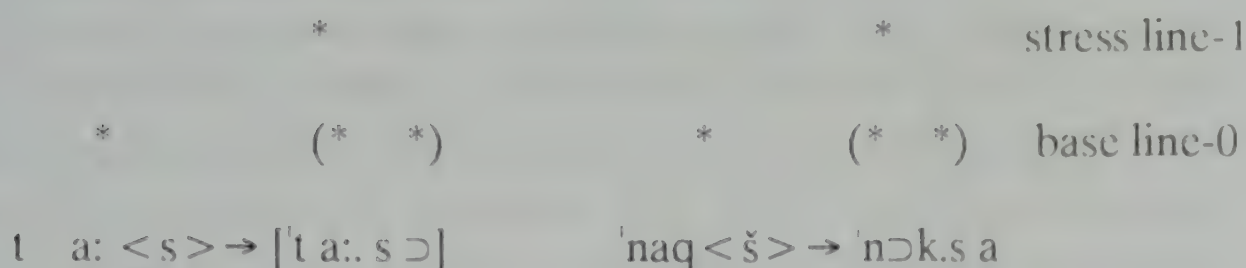
- Data in fig.7 (2.2) illustrate that the bimoraic ($\sigma\mu\mu$) penultimate syllable ['nɔk] of ['nɔk.sa] receives strong stress or peak prominence, whereas the monomoraic ($\sigma\mu$) ultimate syllable [sa] receives weak stress. In other words, the penultimate close syllable which ends with the left consonant of a conjunct in a sequence of CVC receives the strong stress in disyllabic borrowed words in Oriya.
- Data in Fig.7 (1.2 and 2.2) which show the strong stress or peak prominence on the penultimate syllable is presented in the following metrical grids (*) in fig.8 (i) and (ii). The double metrical grids or beats such as '**' is stronger than a single metrical grid of '*', i.e., $** > *$ as shown in fig.8 (i) and (ii).

Fig. 8

The metrical grids (*) indicate the base and stress line of Arabic borrowed word with respect to its donor counterpart

(i)

(ii)



Data in both these metrical trees (fig.7 (2.1) and (2.2)) and grids (fig.8 (i) and (ii)) show that the strong stress or peak prominence falls on the penultimate syllable of disyllabic Arabic borrowed words. In these cases, the strong stress occurs on the left side (e.g. trochaic) of the foot such as $\sum s$ ($\sigma s \sigma w$).

So far, it is evident that a trimoraic monosyllabic donor word has become a trimoraic disyllabic borrowed word in Oriya. In this case, the strong stress falls on the bimoraic penultimate rather than monomoraic light ultimate syllable. In other words, the bimoraic penultimate syllable receives strong stress when it is followed by another ultimate monomoraic syllable in the disyllabic borrowed words.

B. Trisyllabic Arabic borrowed words in Oriya

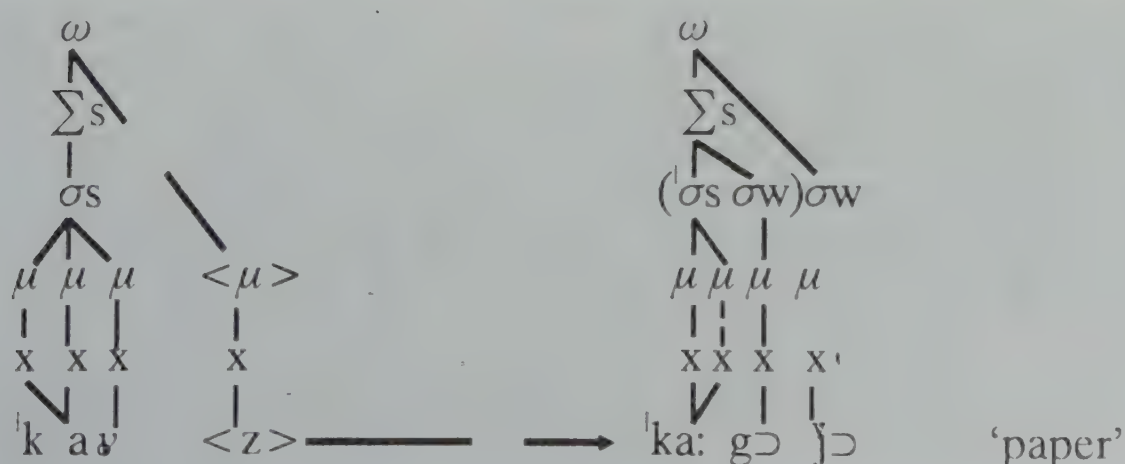
Let us examine the stress patterns of some trisyllabic Oriya words borrowed from Arabic as evidenced in the metrical tree in fig.9 (3.2).

Fig. 9

The metrical trees show the stress patterns of a trisyllabic Arabic borrowed word (3.2) and its monosyllabic donor counterpart (3.1)

(3.1) Arabic word

(3.2) Arabic borrowed words in Oriya



- Data in fig.9 (3.1) and (3.2) show that tetra-moraic super heavy monosyllabic ($^1\sigma\mu\mu\mu$) Arabic word has become tetra-moraic trisyllabic ($^1\sigma\mu\mu.\sigma\mu.\sigma\mu$) borrowed word in Oriya. It is evident that Oriya speakers preserve the total number of moras of donor Arabic words while borrowing them, but it distributes the four moras over three syllables. The antepenultimate syllable receives two moras, whereas the penultimate and ultimate syllables receive one mora each. This distribution of moras is achieved by Oriya speakers while epenthesising the vowel [ɔ] (through the process of vowel harmony). It seems that Oriya does not allow the tetra-moraic super heavy monosyllable. Usually, it permits the bimoraic heavy syllable.
- Data in fig.9 (3.2) show that the bimoraic heavy antepenultimate syllable [$^1ka:$] of [$^1ka:.gɔ.jɔ$] receives strong stress because it is heavier than the light penultimate [$gɔ$] and ultimate [$jɔ$] syllables. The vowel [$a:$]²⁰ contains double moras, whereas the other two following syllables contain one mora each.

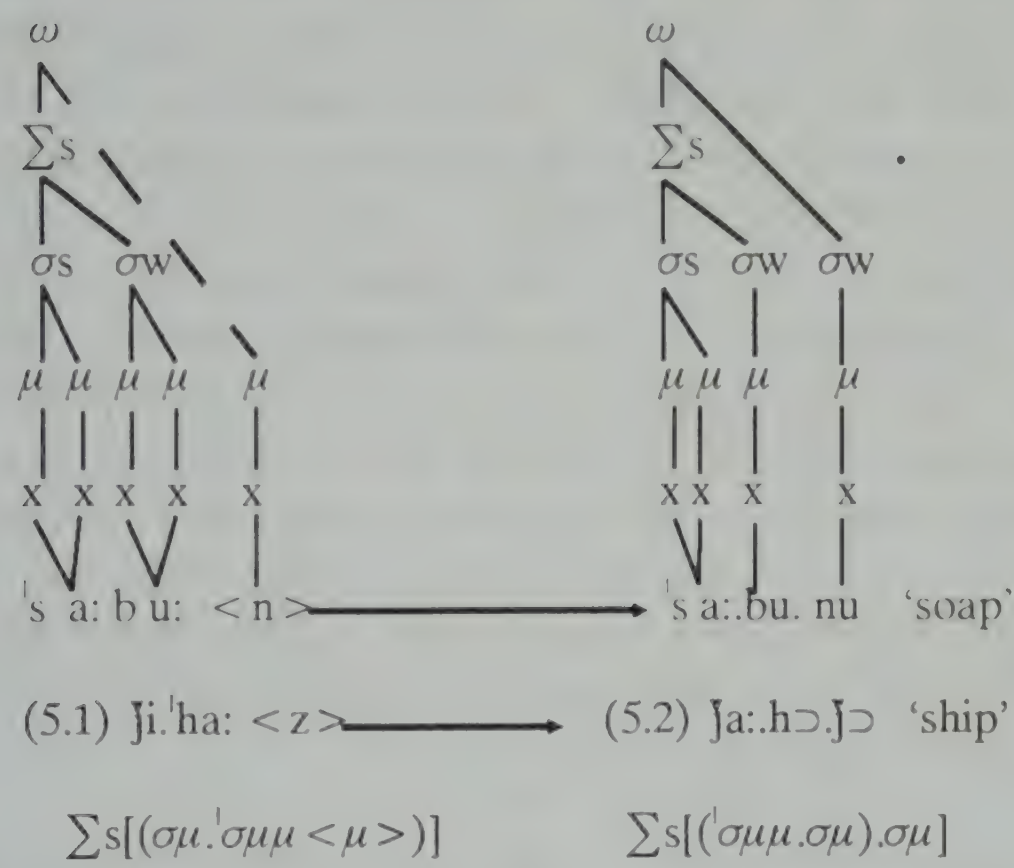
In most of the cases, the open syllable which receives strong stress is largely bimoraic in Oriya. That means, the double moras which attract the prosodic feature of peak prominence either contains double nucleus (vowel clusters, or diphthongs) or a close syllable in the penultimate and the antepenultimate positions. This close or open bimoraic syllable does not occur in the ultimate position. Therefore, the strong stress usually falls in the non-final position. Consider the following trisyllabic Arabic borrowed words in Oriya in fig.10 (4.2 & 5.2) and their donor disyllabic counterparts in fig.10 (4.1 & 5.1) for understanding the bimoraic nature of a stressed syllable which occurs in the antepenultimate position.

20. The vowel [a] is comparatively longer than any other vowel in Oriya. Therefore, a syllable that contains this vowel [a] receives strong stress or peak prominence in Oriya, except in the ultimate syllable position (as data shown in fig.7. (2.1)). Thus, one can say that the syllable which contains the vowel [a] receives the peak prominence in Oriya if other syllables are weak or that may contain other vowel like [ɔ] in a prosodic word, for example, Oriya word borrowed from Prakrit [$rɔ^1ja$] 'king'. On the other hand, if both the penultimate and ultimate syllables contain the vowel [a] or both the syllables have an equal degree of heaviness, then the strong stress falls on the penultimate syllables rather than the ultimate syllable, for example, Oriya word borrowed from Sanskrit [$^1ra:ja:$] 'king'.

Fig. 10
The metrical trees (4.1 & 5.1) and (4.2 & 5.2) show the bimoraic structures of syllables that attract strong stress in trisyllabic borrowed words in Oriya

4.1. Arabic donor forms

4.2. Arabic borrowed words in Oriya



- Data in fig.10 (4.2 and 5.2) show that the antepenultimate syllable of trisyllabic borrowed words that contains double moras in a sequence of heavy + light + light (i.e. $\Sigma s[(\sigma\mu\mu.\sigma\mu)\sigma\mu]$) syllable receives the strong stress or peak prominence. The vowel [a:] has retained its length, as it is in the donor Arabic words.
- As compared to the borrowed words, the donor Arabic word in fig. 10 (4.1) shows that the ultimate super heavy syllable [bu:<n>] $\sigma(\mu\mu <\mu>)$ of ['sa:bu:<n>] 'soap' fails to receive the strong stress because it has an open heavy syllable ($\sigma(\mu\mu)$) in the penultimate position. In Classical Arabic, including San'ania, an eastern dialect of Arabic, the strong stress fails to occur in an ultimate heavy syllable when the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable contains CVV i.e., an open heavy syllable $\sigma(\mu\mu)$ or when a syllable ends in a left leg of a geminate (G) in a sequence of CVG $\sigma(\mu\mu)$ (Watson, 2007:81; Kaye, 1987:672). Consider the following examples in Arabic:

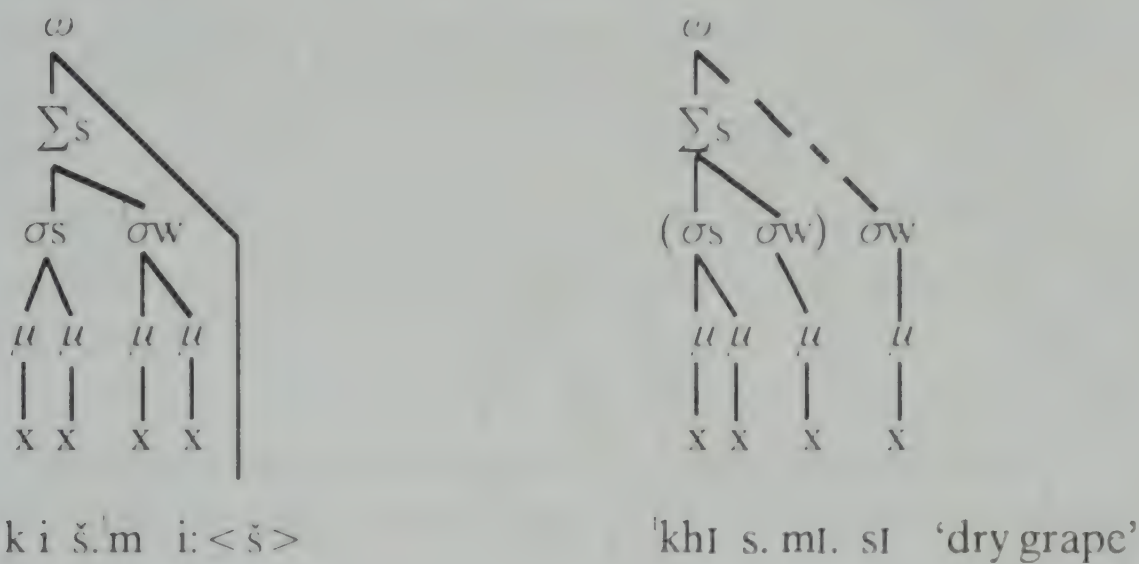
¹ σμμ.σμμ < μ >	σμ. ¹ σμμ.σμμ < μ >	¹ σμμ.σμμ < μ >
¹ xx. xx < x >	x. ¹ xx.xx < x >	¹ xx.xx < x >
¹ sa:bu: < n > 'soap'	ma. ¹ ka:ti: < b > 'letters'	¹ xut.ta: 'clasp'

- The disyllabic Arabic word in fig.10 (5.1) contains the super-heavy syllables [ha:z] of [ʃi.ha:z] in the ultimate position. Therefore, the strong stress falls on the super heavy ultimate syllable [ha:z]. That means, in Classical Arabic, if a super heavy syllable occurs in the ultimate position, then the syllable receives strong stress. On the other hand, Oriya does not allow the super-heavy syllable in an ultimate position. To avoid this situation, Oriya speakers have a tendency to shift the mora of the ultimate syllable to the non-ultimate (penultimate or antepenultimate) position. That happens in the case of the Arabic borrowed word [ʃa:hɔ.ʃɔ] where the antepenultimate syllable has double moras that have been shifted from the ultimate to antepenultimate position. Therefore, one can say that the syllable that receives strong stress has a bimoraic structure in Arabic borrowed words. In other words, the syllables are bimoraic in the non-ultimate position. It may be due to the occurrence of strong stress.
- So far, the position of the strong stress/peak prominence occurs on the left side of the strong foot $\sum s [(^{\circ}\sigma\sigma w)\sigma w]$ in the case of Arabic borrowed words. Considering both disyllabic words in fig. 6 and 7 (1.2 & 2.2), and the trisyllabic Arabic borrowed words in fig. 9 and 10 (3.2, 4.2 & 5.2), it is possible to say that the head of the prosodic word i.e., strong stress occurs in the trochaic rather than iambic positions of the foot in Oriya.
- Data in fig. 10 (5.1) show that the occurrence of strong stress which is in an iambic position (i.e., right side of the foot) in Arabic words has been changed into the trochaic position (i.e., left side of the foot) in Oriya (in fig.10 (5.2). This is noticed in the case of Arabic donor word [ʃi.ha:z] e.g. $\sum s [(\sigma w^{\circ}\sigma s)]$ and its borrowed counterpart [ʃa:hɔ.ʃɔ] e.g. $\sum s [(^{\circ}\sigma\sigma w)\sigma w]$ in Oriya. Largely, it happens due to the re-syllabification and redistribution of moras of Arabic borrowed words in Oriya. Further, one can also observe a similar kind of foot pattern and mora distribution in examples given in fig. 11 (6.1 & 6.2).

Fig. 11

The metrical trees show that the iambic position of strong stress in Arabic donor word (6.1) has been shifted to the trochaic position in borrowed word (6.2)

(6.1) Arabic donor forms (6.2) Arabic borrowed words in Oriya



- Data in fig.11 (6.1) illustrates that the strong stress falls on the ultimate heavy syllable in the disyllabic Arabic word. The strong stress has been changed from ultimate to antepenultimate when it is borrowed into Oriya (as data illustrated in fig.11 (6.2)). It largely happens because Oriya speakers have a tendency to simplify the ultimate heavy syllable and form a light syllable in an ultimate position. This is also motivated by the strong stress that usually attracts double moras in the antepenultimate position (see data in fig.11 (6.2)).
- Like data in fig.10 (5.1), the metrical tree in fig.11 (6.1) shows that the strong stress is in the right side of the foot i.e., iambic in Arabic donor words. This is changed into trochaic (e.g. left side of the foot) when the word has been borrowed from Arabic to Oriya (as data shown in fig.11 (6.2)).

Furthermore, one can also consider the following trisyllabic Arabic borrowed words to observe how the penultimate syllable has become heavy as a result of strong stress in fig.12 (7.2 & 8.2). Here, the argument is whether the vowel length [ɔ:] which contains the double moras and also attracts strong stress is a cause of strong stress or product/ consequence of the strong stress. Since, Oriya does not have vowel length contrast, except some vowel clusters, this resultant feature

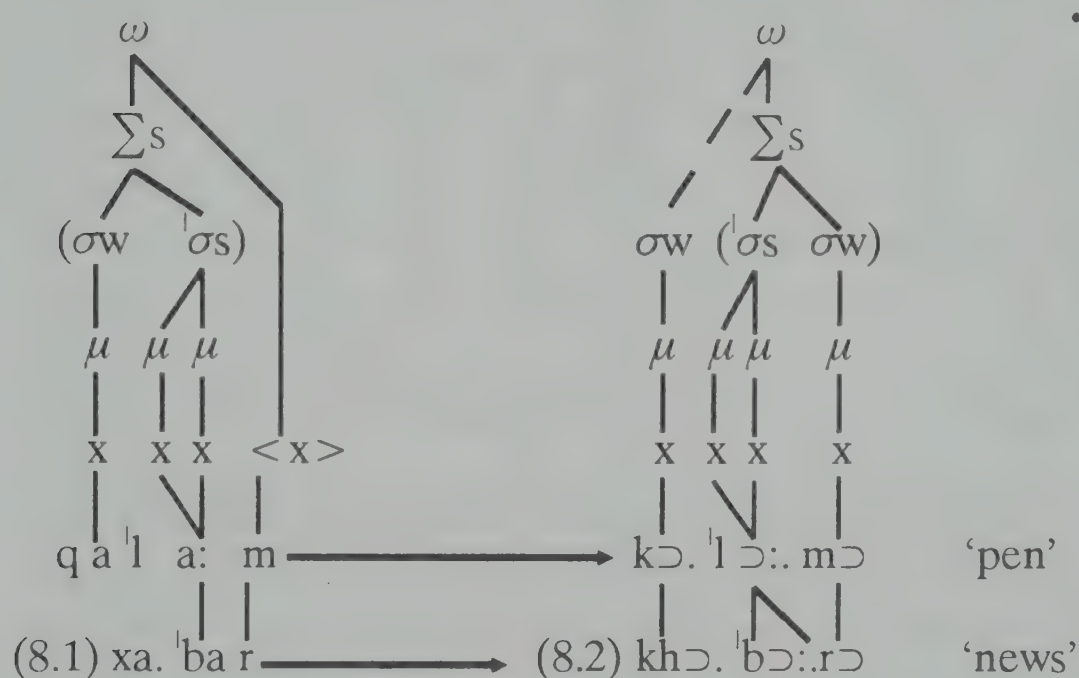
of vowel length [ɔ:] can be considered as the consequence²¹ of strong stress.

Fig. 12

The metrical trees demonstrate that the strong stress falls on the heavy penultimate syllable of Arabic borrowed words in Oriya

(7.1) Arabic donor forms

(7.2) Arabic borrowed words in Oriya



- The data of Arabic donor words in fig.12 (7.1) and (8.1) show that the strong stress falls on the heavy or super-heavy ultimate syllables. The strong stress that falls on the heavy syllable in Arabic has been shifted from the ultimate to penultimate in Oriya. Oriya speakers largely achieve this by re-syllabifying the ultimate super-heavy syllables that appear in Arabic. Due to the strong stress, the penultimate syllables are lengthened and made heavy as compared to the ultimate and antepenultimate syllables in the trisyllabic Arabic words, as data shown in fig.12 (7.2) and (8.2).
- Once again, the iambic position (e.g. the strong stress is on the right side of the foot) of strong stress in Arabic (as data in Fig.12 (7.1))

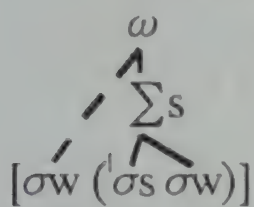
21. Considering these statements, it is possible to generalize that some languages may intrinsically have vowel length distinction which contains double moras and attracts the strong stress in a syllable, whereas some others, those do not have vowel length distinctions, have extrinsic tendency to lengthen the vowel to attract the strong stress. Moreover, some languages treat the strong stress as a cause of vowel length, whereas some others treat the strong stress as a consequence of vowel length (e.g. length due to strong stress).

and (8.1)) has been changed into trochaic (i.e., the strong stress is on the left side of the foot) in Oriya (as data shown in Fig.12 (7.2) and (8.2)).

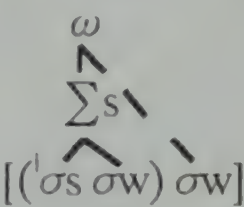
- In the sequence of foot parsing, the unbounded syllable is in the left side $\sum s$ [σw ($^l \sigma s$ σw)] when the penultimate syllable receives the strong stress in borrowed words (as data typified in fig.12 (7.2) and (8.2)). Otherwise, the extra unbounded syllable node is on the right side of the strong foot i.e., $\sum s$ [($^l \sigma s$ σw) σw] (see data in fig.9 (3.2), fig.10 (4.2) and (5.2), and fig.11 (6.2)). The unbounded syllable which is on the left side and the right side of the foot is presented in simple metrical trees (in diagrams fig.13 (iii) and (iv)).

Fig. 13
Metrical trees illustrate the foot unbounded syllable on the left side (iii) and the right side (iv) of the prosodic word

(iii) left side



(iv) right side

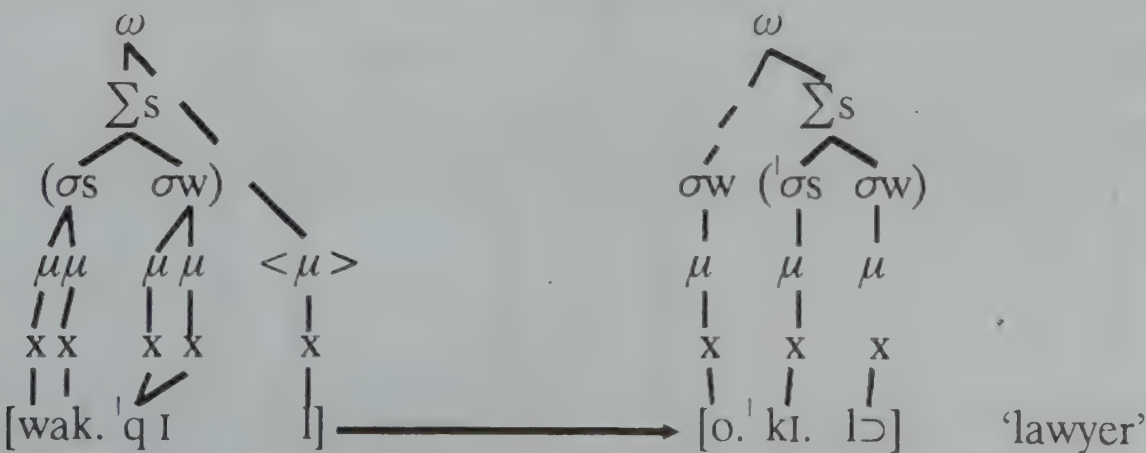


Similarly, the borrowed word preserves the unbounded syllable node in the left side of the foot, as data shown in fig.14 (9.2).

Fig. 14
Metrical trees illustrate that the unbounded syllable node is in the right side of foot in Arabic (as in 9.1) whereas it is in the left side of foot in Oriya (as in 9.2)

(9.1) Arabic donor forms

(9.2) Arabic borrowed words in Oriya



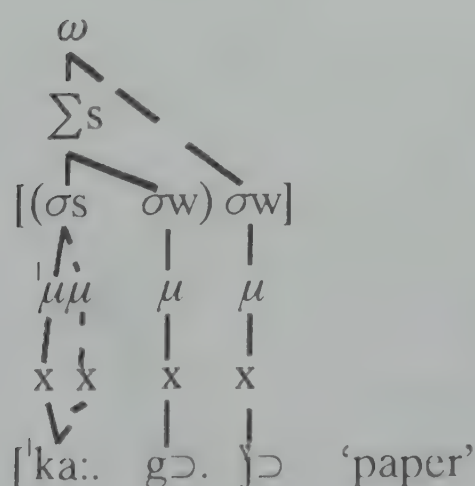
- Data in fig.14 (9.2) shows that the strong stress falls on the penultimate syllable when both the preceding antepenultimate and ultimate syllables have equal strength of heaviness.
- In this case, there seems to be a violation of sonority principle *o > I > ɔ where the syllable that contains the vowel [o] fails to receive the strong stress. Usually, the vowel [o] is comparatively less prominent than other vowels in Oriya in the antepenultimate position. It has also been found to have a very restricted distribution in Oriya. It rarely occurs in word final position. Even in initial and medial syllables, it sometimes freely interchanges with /u/ or /ɔ/ (Ray, 2003:448), for example, [o.kɪ.ɔ]/[u.kɪ.ɔ] 'lawyer'. Due to this reason, the antepenultimate syllable that contains the vowel [o] might have failed to receive the strong stress in the word [o.kɪ.ɔ] 'lawyer' (see data in fig.14 (9.2)).
- So far, there is no occurrence of strong stress in the ultimate syllable of tri-syllable Arabic borrowed words. This observation illustrates the fact that the position of ultimate syllable seems to be weak in Oriya. Since the ultimate syllable [ɔ] is weak due to its position at the edge of word, the strong stress falls on the penultimate syllable [kɪ] of [o.kɪ.ɔ]. Considering the following examples in fig. 15 (9.3), (9.4) and (9.5), one can say that the strong stress falls on the non-ultimate or non-final position of Arabic borrowed words in Oriya.

Fig. 15

Metrical trees show that the strong stress falls on the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables in Arabic borrowed words in Oriya

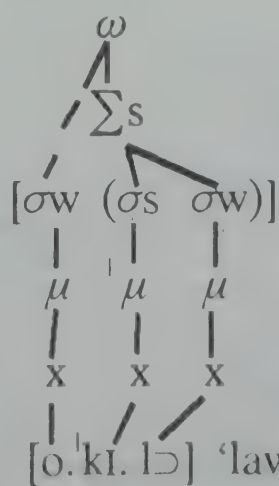
Strong stress in
antepenultimate syllable

(9.3)

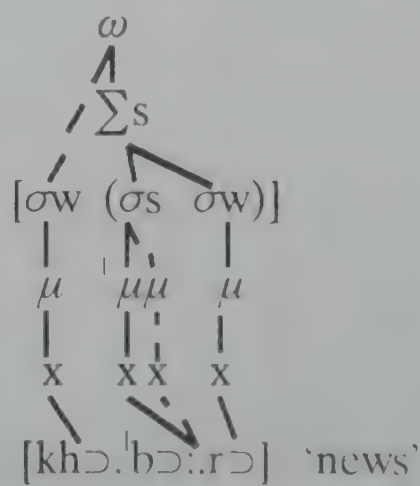


Strong stress in
penultimate syllable

(9.4)



(9.5)



[^hpɔl.sɔ. la] 'solve' [ɔ.phɪ.mɔ] 'opium' [dɔ. la. lɔ] 'broker'
 [sa:. bu. nu] 'soap' [ɔ. ^hsl. lɪ] 'real' [o. ka:. dɔ] 'power'

6. Findings and Conclusion

Some observations can be made about the stress patterns of Arabic words and their borrowed counterparts in Oriya, on the basis of the data analysis. Arabic has super-heavy monosyllabic words. In the Arabic borrowed words in Oriya, these words are transformed into di/trisyllabic words. In Arabic, the ultimate syllable, which is super-heavy, receives the strong stress. In Oriya, the strong stress falls on the heavy penultimate/antepenultimate syllable, rather than the ultimate syllable. In Arabic, stressed syllables are largely trimoraic. In Oriya, stressed syllables are largely bimoraic. In Arabic, strong stress mainly occurs in the iambic position of the foot, whereas in Oriya, strong stress occurs mainly in the trochaic position of the foot.

This paper has analyzed the stress patterns of borrowed Arabic words in Oriya with respect to their donor counter parts in Arabic. We have seen that the mono and disyllabic Arabic donor words have undergone the process of re-syllabification and redistribution of mora in Oriya. By this process of re-syllabification and re-distribution of mora, the stress patterns of Arabic borrowed words have been altered. Moreover, the strong stress of Arabic borrowed words largely follows the stress patterns of Oriya rather than Arabic. In Arabic, the super heavy or heavy syllable receives the strong stress in the ultimate position, whereas in Oriya, the strong stress does not occur in the ultimate position due to the occurrence of light syllables. That means, Oriya does not shift the strong stress further back to the penultimate syllable in Arabic borrowed words, as it does in Oriya words. Oriya speakers have a tendency to recreate the syllabic position through the process of re-syllabification for assigning the strong stress to the penultimate and ultimate syllables. Thus, borrowed Arabic words in Oriya try to preserve some features of the borrowing language as well as that of the donor language, recreating the stress pattern, in the process.

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[illegible]

7. /qa ¹ la:m/												
	4.a. [kɔ ¹ lɔ:mɔ]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. /xa ¹ bar/												
	8.a. [khɔ ¹ bɔ:rɔ]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. /wak ¹ qɪ:l/												
	5.a. [o ¹ kɪlɔ]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Annexure 2

Table 3 shows the stress patterns of Arabic borrowed words with respect to their donor counterparts. Data were recorded from the eight Oriya speakers (OS11...OS18 from Gagtsinghpur district). Each speaker's pronunciation is transcribed in the IPA and tabulated in the form of '+' (e.g. presence of preferred patterns) and '-' (e.g. absence of preferred patterns) signs. It is evident that the forms of borrowed words listed in (a)) are preferred by the majority of Oriya speakers than the forms listed in (b). Therefore, the stress patterns of borrowed words (as data listed in 1.a., 2.a, 3.a...9a) that are followed by the majority Oriya speakers have been selected for the purpose of data analysis and interpretation (see section 5 and annexure 3).

Table 3
The stress patterns of borrowed words and their variations in Oriya

Input (Variant)	Outputs (Variables)	OS 11	OS 12	OS 13	OS 14	OS 15	OS 16	OS 17	OS 18	Gloss
1. / ¹ ta:s/	1.a. [¹ ta:sɔ]	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	'playing card'
	1.b. [¹ ta:s]	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2. / ¹ naqš/	2.a. [¹ nɔksa]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	'land map'
	2.b. [nɔ ¹ kɔ:sa]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3. / ¹ ka:yz]/										
	9.a. [¹ ka:gɔʃɔ]	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	'paper'
	9.b. [ka ¹ gɔ:c]	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4. / ¹ sa:bu:n/										
	6.a. [¹ sa:bunu]	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	'soap'
	6.b. [sa ¹ :bun]	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	

5. /ʃiːˈhaːz/	7.a. [ʃaːhaːʃɔ]	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	‘ship’
	7.b. [ʃaˈhaːz]	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6. /ˈkiʃmiːʃ/	3.a. [ˈkʰɪsmɪsɪ]	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	‘dry grape’
	3.b. [ˈkɪsmɪsɪ]	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
7. /qaˈlaːm/	4.a. [kɔˈlɔːmɔ]	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	‘pen’
	4.b. [kɔˈlɔːm]	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
8. /xaˈbar/	8.a. [kʰɔˈbɔːrɔ]	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	‘news’
	8.b. [kʰɔˈbɔːr]	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
9. /wakˈqɪːl/	5.a. [oˈkɪlɔ]	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	‘lawyer’
	5.b. [oˈkɪl]	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Annexure 3

Table 4 presents the stress patterns of Arabic donor words and their borrowed counterparts in the form of prosodic units (e.g. from bottom-to-top) such as mora (μ), syllable (σ) and foot $[(\sigma\sigma)]$. The pronunciation patterns of Arabic borrowed words that have been listed in the output columns are preferred by the majority of Oriya speakers while speaking their mother tongue (see annexures 1 and 2).

Table 4
Illustrates the recorded data of borrowed words in the form of prosodic units mora (μ), syllable (σ) and foot $[(\sigma\sigma)]$ and their Arabic donor counterparts

Input	Mora	S	Foot & Stress	Outputs	Mora	S	Foot & Stress
1. /ˈtaːs/	($\mu\mu\mu$)	[$^1\sigma$]	[($^1\sigma$)]	1.a. [ˈtaːsɔ]	($\mu\mu$) (μ)	[$^1\sigma.\sigma$]	[($^1\sigma\sigma$)]
2. /ˈnaqʃ/	($\mu\mu\mu$)	[$^1\sigma$]	[($^1\sigma$)]	2.a. [ˈnɔksa]	($\mu\mu$) (μ)	[$^1\sigma.\sigma$]	[($^1\sigma\sigma$)]

3. / ^l ka:ɣz/	(μμμμ)	[^l σ]	[(^l σ)]	9.a. [^l ka:gɔ̌ɔ̌]	(μ) (μ) (μ)	[^l σ.σ.σ]	[(^l σσ) (σ)]
4. / ^l sa:bu:n/	(μμ) (μμμ)	[^l σ.σ]	[(^l σσ)]	6.a. [^l sa:bunu]	(μ) (μ) (μ)	[^l σ.σ.σ]	[(^l σσ) (σ)]
5. /ʃi:. ^l ha:z/	(μμμ) (μμμ)	[^l σ.σ]	[(^l σ ^l σ)]	7.a. [ʃa:hɔ̌:ɔ̌]	(μμ)(μ) (μ)	[^l σ.σ.σ]	[(^l σσ) (σ)]
6. /kiš ^l miš/	(μμ) (μμ)	[^l σ.σ]	[(^l σσ)]	3.a. [^l khɪsmɪsɪ]	(μμ) (μ) (μ)	[^l σ.σ.σ]	[(^l σσ) (σ)]
7. /qa ^l la:m/	(μ) (μμμ)	[^l σ.σ]	[(^l σ ^l σ)]	4.a. [kɔ̌ ^l ɔ̌:mɔ̌]	(μ) (μμ) (μ)	[σ. ^l σ.σ]	[(^l σ ^l σ) (σ)]
8. /xa ^l bar/	(μμ) (μμμ)	[^l σ.σ]	[(^l σσ)]	8.a. [khɔ̌ ^l bɔ̌:rɔ̌]	(μ) (μμ) (μ)	[σ. ^l σ.σ]	[(^l σ ^l σ) (σ)]
9. /wak ^l qɪ:l/	(μμ) (μμμ)	[^l σ.σ]	[(^l σ ^l σ)]	5.a. [o ^l kɪɔ̌]	(μ) (μ) (μ)	[σ. ^l σ.σ]	[(^l σ ^l σ) (σ)]

[S = Syllabification]

Notes & Discussions

**TRIBES, THEIR LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE
POLICY FOR TRIBAL CHILDREN IN SCHOOL**

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Mysore

1. The Tribes: A Demographic Profile

As per 2001 Census, the total tribal population of India including the estimated population of Paomata, Mao Maram and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati District of Manipur is 84,326,240 which is 8.2 percent of the total population of 1,028,737,436 of the country. States with the highest and the lowest concentration of tribal population are Mizoram and Goa respectively. Similarly, the Union Territories (UT) with the highest and the lowest concentration of tribal population are Lakshadweep and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The major concentration of the tribal population having 20% and above of the State/UT populations is in the states of Mizoram (94.5), Meghalaya (85.9), Nagaland (89.1), Arunachal Pradesh (64.2), Manipur (34.2), Chattisgarh (31.8), Tripura (31.1), Jharkhand (26.3), Orissa (22.1), Sikkim (20.6) and Madhya Pradesh (20.3); and the UT-s of Lakshadweep (94.5) and Dadra and Nagar Haveli (62.2). The highest and the lowest decadal growth in the year 2001 are observed in Karnataka (80.8) and Tamil Nadu (13.4) respectively, the reasons for which have to be explored. Only two States, viz. Karnataka (80.8) and Nagaland (67.2) showed more than 60%. Nine States, viz. Bihar (32.4), Meghalaya (31.3), Rajasthan (29.6), Mizoram (28.4), Arunachal Pradesh (28.1), Madhya Pradesh (26.4), Sikkim (22.6), Gujarat (21.4) and Uttar Pradesh (20.9); and one UT, Dadra and Nagar Haveli (25.5) show a decadal growth between 20 and 40 percent. The rest of the

States and UT-s - except Jammu and Kashmir where 1991 Census data was not available - show a decadal growth between 10 and 20 percent.

Table 1 shows total populations and tribal populations of States and UT-s, percentages of ST populations to total populations and their decadal growth from 1991 to 2001.

Table 1

Total Population and Tribal Population of India and States and UT-s, their Percentages to Total Populations and their Decadal Growths from 1991 to 2001

Sl. No.	State/ Union Territory	2001			1991	DG
		Total Population	Total ST Population	PST	PST	
1.	India	10,28,737,436	8,44,326,240	8.2	8.1	24.5
2.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	356,152	29,469	8.3	9.5	NA
3.	Andhra Pradesh	76,210,007	5,024,104	6.6	6.3	19.6
4.	Arunachal Pradesh	1,097,968	705,158	64.2	63.7	28.1
5.	Assam	26,655,528	3,308,570	12.4	12.8	15.1
6.	Bihar	82,998,509	758,351	0.9	0.9	32.4
7.	Chandigarh	900,635	NST	NST	NST	NA
8.	Chattisgarh	20,833,803	6,616,596	31.8	32.5	NA
9.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	220,490	137,225	62.2	79.0	25.5
10.	Daman & Diu	158,204	13,997	8.8	11.5	19.4
11.	Delhi	13,850,507	NST	NST	NST	NA
12.	Goa	1,347,668	566	0.04	N	50.5
13.	Gujarat	50,671,017	7,481,160	14.8	14.9	21.4
14.	Haryana	21,144,564	NST	NST	NST	NA
15.	Himachal Pradesh	6,077,900	244,587	4.0	4.2	NA

16.	Jammu & Kashmir	10,143,700	1,105,979	10.9	NA	NA
17.	Jharkhand	26,945,829	7,087,068	26.3	27.7	17.3
18.	Karnataka	52,850,562	3,463,986	6.6	4.3	80.8
19.	Kerala	31,841,374	364,189	1.1	1.1	9.42
20.	Lakshadweep	60,650	57,321	94.5	93.1	19.0
21.	Madhya Pradesh	60,348,023	12,233,474	20.3	19.9	26.4
22.	Maharashtra	96,878,627	8,577,276	8.9	9.3	17.2
23.	Manipur	2,293,896	741,141	34.2	34.4	17.2
24.	Meghalaya	2,318,822	1,992,862	85.9	85.5	31.3
25.	Mizoram	888,573	839,310	94.5	94.8	28.4
26.	Nagaland	1,990,036	1,774,026	89.1	87.7	67.2
27.	Odisha (Orissa)	36,804,660	8,145,081	22.1	22.2	15.8
28.	Puducherry	974,345	NST	NST	NST	NA
29.	Punjab	24,358,999	NST	NST	NST	NA
30.	Rajasthan	56,507,188	7,097,706	12.6	12.4	29.6
31.	Sikkim	540,851	111,405	20.6	22.4	22.6
32.	Tamil Nadu	62,405,679	651,321	1.0	1.0	13.4
33.	Tripura	3,199,203	993,426	31.1	30.9	16.4
34.	Uttar Pradesh	166,197,921	107,963	0.1	0.1	42.0
35.	Uttarakhand	8,489,349	256,129	3.0	3.0	20.9
36.	West Bengal	80,176,197	4,406,794	5.5	5.6	15.7

[N = Negligible; NA = Not Available; NST = No Scheduled Tribe Notified; PST = Percentage of ST Population; DG = Decadal growth from 1991 to 2001; Figures in Table 1 obtained from Statements 1 and 8 of the *Census of Indian 2001* tables and other Census documents.]

2. Tribal Languages

All the tribal languages listed in the Census belong to the Munda subgroup of Austro-Asiatic family, Tibeto-Burman subgroup of Sino-Tibetan family, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan subgroup of Indo-European

family and Semito-Hemetic family with a majority belonging to Tibeto-Burman group followed by Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian groups. Out of these, Bhili (Indo-Aryan), Santali (Austro-Asiatic), Gondi and Kurukh (both Dravidian) have considerable speaker strength.

Except in the North-East, Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep which are predominant tribal regions, in other regions the tribals live in the midst of non-tribal populations. As a result, a large number of tribal language speakers tend to switch over to the surrounding non-tribal languages as their mother tongues, or retain the mother tongues also along with the local languages. The percentage of people claiming non-tribal languages as mother tongues in some regions is going up year by year as we notice in the Census records. This downward trend can be observed from Table 1 in 11 States and 3 Union Territories when we look at the percentages of tribal populations of 2001 and 1991 which is more drastic in the UT-s of Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu.

We find many tribal groups spread across neighbouring States although living in a contiguous territory, such as Bhils in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat; Gonds in Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Maharashtra; Hos in Jharkhand and Odisha; Santals in West Bengal, Jharkhand, Odisha and Assam, etc. However, the speakers of most of the tribal languages of the North and North-East concentrate in limited regions such as Dimasas in Assam, Lothas in Nagaland, Lahaulis in Himachal Pradesh.

3. Language Maintenance and Shift

Linguistic and cultural habits are very much influenced by the neighbourhood. The minority groups are normally susceptible to the majority, especially when they are in the neighbourhood of, or within the latter group. Even major Scheduled languages are not exceptional to this phenomenon. Telugu and Marathi speakers in interior Tamil Nadu and Karnataka lost their linguistic identities. Dialects of Hindi are abandoned by the educated people and shifted to the Khariboli which became dominant due to political patronage. Same is true with the tribal languages also. Khubchandani (1992) identifies four major patterns in this phenomenon, viz. (1) strong tendency to maintain tribal

language identity, (2) co-existence of tribal and non-tribal languages, (3) overwhelming tendency to shift ancestral tribal mother-tongue in favour of a non-tribal language and (4) least resistance by tribal languages in favour of dominant language(s). Let us discuss these phenomena more elaborately with 2001 Census data.

- (1) The North-East includes Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur and Assam. We may add even Sikkim to this.

In this region, barring the State of Assam, in all other States the population predominantly belongs to Scheduled Tribes. As per 2001 Census (See Table 1), the population of Scheduled Tribes in different States is as follows:

Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur (excluding Mao Maran, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati District), Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland show 64.2, 34.2, 85.9, 94.5 and 89.1 percent respectively. Only Sikkim and Tripura in this region show less percentage, i.e. 20.6 and 31.1 respectively like Orissa in the Eastern region (22.1). Similarly, Dadra & Nagar Haveli in the Western region and the island area of Lakshadweep show 62.2 and 94.5 percent respectively. The main reason for this is that they are compact tribal regions and as a result, their languages are intact as there is no onslaught or influence of non-tribal languages. But still, in some of the North-Eastern States, this phenomenon of language shift exists within the same region. Although these States are compact tribal regions, they are like 'blocks' or 'bundles' of more than one tribal language, some of which having a majority number of speakers and some being minor and insignificant in certain cases in specified regions. Naturally the minority tribal language speakers of such areas abandon their mother tongues and shift to the majority tribal language as their mother-tongue.

- (2) In Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Sikkim, etc. it is estimated that more than 20% of the tribal language speakers claim non-tribal languages as mother tongues because the tribals live in the midst of the dominant languages like Hindi, Bengali, etc.
- (3) In certain regions in the States of Odisha, Maharashtra, Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, etc. it is estimated that more than a

half of the tribal population claim non-tribal languages as mother tongues. This is clearly a shift, may be due to the influence of the dominant non-tribal languages. Similar is the case with minor tribal languages in the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, etc.

- (4) In States such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, etc. where the State official language is the dominant one, it is estimated that about three-quarters of the tribal population claim the non-tribal languages as mother tongues.

Ishtiaq (1999) who conducted a detailed study of language shift in present-day Bihar and Jharkhand on Santals, Mundas and Oraons identifies areas of linguistic continuity with more than 75% of the tribals retaining their mother tongues, areas of transition with 25.75 percent retention of their mother tongues, and the areas of shift with less than 25% retaining their mother tongues.

4. Constitutional Provisions in respect of Tribals and their Languages

Paragraph (1) of *Article 342* of the Constitution states that 'The president may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory as the case may be'. *Article 46* states that 'The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'.

The first Census after Independence (1951) enumerates Scheduled Tribe population as 5.6 percent of the total population of the country which rose to 8.2 in 2001. In order to look after the needs of the Scheduled Tribes, an office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes was created.

In 1961, the literacy rate of tribal population was 8.5 which increased to 11.3 and 16.35 in 1971 and 1981 respectively. It was 29.62 before 2001 and it stands at 47.1 in 2001.

Article 350 A of the Constitution stipulates that ‘every State and every local authority is directed to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups, and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provisions of such facilities’. This provision should be applicable equally to all languages including tribal languages.

5. Three-Language Formula

The Government realized that there was an urgent need to promote national and emotional integration among different linguistic groups in the country. They felt that at least three languages, viz. the mother-tongue or the State language, Hindi as official language of the country and English as associate official language have to be taught at school level. The meeting of Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers had endorsed it in the meeting held on 10th, 11th and 12th August 1961. Later, the National Policy on Education recommend the Three-Language Formula in the following terms:

- (a) Hindi, English and a modern Indian language (preferably one of the South Indian languages) in Hindi-speaking States, and
- (b) The regional language / mother-tongue, Hindi and English in non-Hindi-speaking States.

6. Modified Three-Language Formula for Schools in Tribal Areas

School education, especially primary education, should be totally through the mother-tongue of pupils wherever possible. Where the mother-tongue is different from Hindi in Hindi-speaking States, and the regional language in the non-Hindi speaking States, provision must be made for a composite course of the mother-tongue, i.e. tribal language, and Hindi or the regional language. This composite course of the tribal mother-tongue and Hindi, or the regional language, should be continued even at the secondary stage of the school until the class when the third language is introduced, i.e. till Standard VII / VIII. The Three-Language Formula could come into force after Standard V in the following manner:

1. In Hindi-Speaking States

<i>Language</i>	<i>Standards</i>
(a) Hindi	I - X
or A composite course of Hindi and the tribal mother-tongue up to Standard VII and Hindi from Standard VIII to X	
(b) English	V/VI - X
(c) A non-Hindi language	VIII - X

2. In non-Hindi-Speaking Non-Tribal States

(a) Regional language or non-tribal mother-tongue	I - X
or A composite course of the regional language and tribal mother-tongue up to Standard VII and the regional language from Standard VIII to X	
(b) English	V/VI - X
(c) Hindi	VIII - X

3. In Tribal-Language-Speaking States

(a) State official language or tribal mother-tongue	I - X
or A composite course of State official language and tribal mother-tongue up to Standard VII and the State official language from Standard VIII to X	
(b) (i) English - if the State official language is another tribal language other than the pupil's mother-tongue, or another Indian language other than Hindi	V/VI - X
(ii) Hindi - if English is the State official language	
(c) Hindi - in the case of (b) (i) above.	VIII - X
Tribal Mother-tongue - if the State official language is English or another Tribal language other than the pupil's mother-tongue	

The above formula will ensure compulsory teaching of tribal languages in school curriculum. However, a major tribal language has to be learnt by other tribal language speaking people also in tribal States in case the former is a declared official language of the State. Like in the case of Nagaland, if the State's official language is English, English or a composite course of English and the tribal mother-tongue will become the first language, Hindi as second language and another modern Indian language other than Hindi, or another tribal language of the concerned State will have to be taught as the third language.

7. Tribal Language Situation in School Curriculum

The tribal languages are included in school curriculum in some States of North-East. It is said that Bodo and Rabha are taught even at college level (even M.A. in Bodo is introduced probably in Guwahati University), but many languages even with considerable number of speakers do not find place in school curriculum except in the case of certain languages in the North-Eastern States.

The stipulation of *Article 350 A* is equally applicable to all languages including tribal languages. So the tribal children should get equal opportunities to learn their mother-tongue which is not happening due to many constraints some of which are listed below:

1. Under the Three-Language Formula, most of the States included the regional language or the official language of the State under mother tongue - ignoring the minority and tribal languages - along with Hindi and English. When minority language speakers including the tribal language speakers demand for inclusion of their mother tongues, the authorities state that (a) there are not enough students to learn, (b) no qualified teachers are available, (c) textbooks are not available (especially in the case of tribal languages) and (d) the curriculum has already three languages included, and a fourth language would become a burden on the students. The only States where tribal languages are included in the school curriculum are Delhi (Lepcha and Dimpu - as third language), West Bengal (Lishi and Santali under first language category) and Mizoram (Mizo as first language), but it is doubtful in these States also whether any considerable teaching of these languages is going on. Even States which are predominantly tribal, such as Tripura, Arunachal

Pradesh, etc. have not included the tribal languages in their school curricula. (It appears Arunachal Pradesh now included Adi at lower level). Nagaland states only 'mother tongue' under the First language.

2. Non-availability of textbooks, trained teachers and other teaching materials is another major hurdle in teaching tribal languages at school level.
3. Non-availability of sufficient number of learners is also a drawback in teaching tribal languages, especially where the language is a minority language surrounded by majority languages.
4. In States where the tribal languages are minority languages, in addition to the above reasons, it is also observed that the dominant majority language and its cultural habits negatively motivate the learners.
5. Mobility of the nomads is another problem. Unless the nomads settle down, it is not possible to provide proper education to them.

In view of the above, urgent steps have to be taken in order to redress these constraints and drawbacks wherever possible. In the North-Eastern States, in Dadra & Nagar Haveli and in Lakshadweep or even in Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand, the concerned Governments have to find solutions to prepare and supply enough textbooks and train teachers to be able to teach the concerned languages.

8. Script for Tribal Languages

The Nagaland Government had recognized English as the official language of the State with Roman script. They also used the Roman script to write their tribal languages. The Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore made a policy to use both Roman and Devanagari wherever possible. The policy is flexible that a particular script is used to write a particular language provided the speakers of that language consent for that. It is also flexible that more than one script can be used depending on the situation and willingness of the concerned people to use them. For example, among the Scheduled languages, Sindhi and Kashmiri are traditionally written in Arabic

script. Now, both Arabic and Devanagari scripts are used to write these languages. Similarly, Devanagari is used for Konkani in Goa, and Kannada and Malayalam scripts are used in Karnataka and Kerala respectively as considerable number of Konkani speakers and writers are living in these States. We may consider to follow the same in the case of tribal languages of all the States also without going for prestige to have their own script as it is going on at present in Manipur where the scholars are trying to revive a script which they say was lost some time back.

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A GRAMMAR OF TULU (A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE)

S.L. Bhatt, 2005, Demy 1/8, pp. x+388, Rs. 200/- (US\$ 40/-)

An exhaustive study of the Tulu language submitted by Dr. Sooda Lekshminarayana Bhatt as a Ph.D. thesis to Wisconsin University, U.S.A., this book has an introduction, the locality of Tulu, its relationship with the other languages, phonology, morphology and syntax. One noteworthy feature of the book is the lexicon containing arrangement and pronunciation, grammatical categories, derivations, Tulu words and idioms, etc. This well-printed publication will be an asset to language students and Tulu scholars.

Notes & Discussions

**ENDANGERMENT OF TRIBAL LANGUAGES
IN INDIAN CONTEXT**

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The problem of language endangerment is enormous and complex in India due to the diversity and complexity of minority and tribal languages in different parts of the country. As the number and types of endangered languages are so great, the criteria for defining them also becomes complex. Taking the gravity of the situation, U.N.E.S.C.O. has identified work on endangered languages as an area of priority for maintenance of language diversity along with other aspects of human cultural heritage. In this context, this paper tries to discuss relevant issues in language endangerment in the tribal communities in the light of U.N.E.S.C.O.'s document on language vitality and endangerment with regard to Indian scenario and tries to present a profile for endangered languages.

It is generally stated that bi/multilingualism in India is a stable and natural phenomenon. The acquisition of additional language does not commonly lead to the loss of the first language. The causal factors for language loss / shift are non-linguistic and are largely political and economic. Language shift occurs in a situation of contact between two language groups, one of which is relatively dominant in terms of socio-economic and political status. It is generally recognized that the minority groups may lose its language in course of time.

The early phase of language shift involves a form of bilingualism. The systematic allocation of the mother tongue and the acquired

language for two separate functions sustain bilingualism. The minority language speakers use their language for certain purposes among themselves while they use the language of dominant group for communication and social interaction with the members of the dominant group. The processes of language shift and language loss are intimately related. It is recognized that language shift is intergenerational and involves reduction in language use. On the other hand, language loss is intergenerational and refers to reduction in proficiency to use language.

Intergeneration language transmission is one of the important factors that U.N.E.S.C.O. has formulated to define and assess the language endangerment. The more the transmission occurs from one generation to the next, the stronger the language is. The other factors are such as (i) absolute number of speakers, (ii) proportion of speaker within the total population, (iii) loss of existing language domains, (iv) response to new domains, (v) media, materials for language education and literacy, (vi) language attitudes and policies, (vii) governmental and institutional language attitude and policies including official status and use; (viii) community members attitude towards their own languages and (ix) amount and quality of documentation. These nine factors are proposed to assess the language situation and are offered as guidelines and it is suggested that none of the factors should be used alone.

Wurm (2002) has characterized the nature of language endangerment by taking the criteria, viz. intergeneration language transmission. He provides the following types of language endangerment: (i) potentially endangered languages involving decreasing use by children, (ii) endangered languages with decreasing use by young adults besides very few or no children-speakers left, (iii) seriously endangered languages involving decreasing use by middle-aged adults with the youngest good speakers about 50 years of age, (iv) moribund languages involving decreasing use by the remaining aged speaker, (v) extinct languages with no speakers left.

Mehrotra (1999) has provided a tripartite classification of endangered languages in India: (a) extinct languages like Bonda, Gorum, Gata and Lai, (b) languages in the process of extinction, e.g. Ralte, Onge and Shompen and (c) languages threatened by extinction, e.g. Andamanese, Khami and Lunkful. Annamalai (2001) has listed

seven features, viz. language demography, language loss, status reduction, user reduction, use reduction, code reduction and actors while discussing about challenges and responses to language survival. As suggested by Annamalai, these are all not the basic factors for the study of language loss but are intermediate factors that lead to language loss and these give a general picture of language survival in India. But here an attempt is made to study the intricate problems of language endangerment among tribal communities by taking the tribes in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka States.

It is generally stated that the tribal languages are more towards language shift and hence they are considered to be endangered. The language shift is enormous that 43% of tribals have reported a non-tribal language as their mother tongue (Itagi et al, 1986). This means that nearly half of the tribals have shifted their mother-tongue. The bilingual tribals who have reported the majority regional language as their mother-tongue may have a tribal language of their own tongue. As stated by Dua (2007), most of the studies or conclusions drawn about language endangerment in particular or language shift in general are based on the census data. Several scholars have attempted interpretation of census data from the point of view of the extent of bilingualism among tribal language speakers, the nature and extent of language shift among minority and the degree of flexibility and changes in language identity from one census to another. But census may not provide correct demographic data of various speakers especially tribes due to several factors.

- (1) The Indian census has provided information about the number of speakers for the languages subsumed under the category of classified languages.
- (2) These mother tongues as reported in the census are not languages in a grammatical sense but are tokens of group identity in a sociolinguistic sense and include names of villages, castes, occupation etc. (Annamalai 1998). Some mother tongues may be languages, some may be dialects and some may be indicators of speech variation not even have the status of dialect.
- (3) Since 1971 Census onwards, to identify a group linguistically, a strength of 10,000 speakers was fixed as a criteria which badly affects the tribal languages in India.

(4) The projected views like scriptlessness, absence of literature, mutual intelligibility and demographic statistics, socio-economic backwardness, etc. are no way successful in differentiating a dialect from language. Census generally accounts the mother tongue of tribes either as independent language or as a variety of dominant languages. The following mother tongues listed under Telugu and Kannada may be cited as examples:

Telugu Chencu, Golari, Kammara, Malai Telugu, Mala Bhasha, Porja, Valmiki, Yenadi

Kannada Golari, Holiya, Kattunaickan, Koracha, Korama, Kurumba, Madari, Naiki Kurumba, Soliga, Urali

However, census is the major source for the study of the language situation of the tribes apart from the information from the tribal welfare department.

The study of language endangerment among tribal communities is rather difficult due to the heterogeneity of the communities and the spread of the same community in different states of India. Even though most of the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are minorities, their mother tongue shift to different dominant languages of the states where they live, possess difficulty in identifying the speech variety of the tribes. In other words, the dominant languages with which a tribal community is in contact are diverse in some cases. This is due to the fact that the geographical boundary of the tribal community living contiguously may have more than one dominant language around it or a tribal community may live non-contiguously in the other states.

In Andhra Pradesh, among the 33 tribal communities listed in 1981 Census, only 9 different languages spoken by the major tribal groups have been recognized by the Government of Andhra Pradesh for the use of the same in education. They are: Koya, Gondi, Kolami, Savara, Konda, Kuvi, Banjara, Yerukola and Adivasi Oriya. Almost all these tribes are either bilinguals or multilinguals.

Majority of the tribal communities in the state speak Telugu. Bagata, Chenchu, Gouda, Konda Kammara, Konda Kapu, Konda Reddi, Koya Dora, Manne Dora, Mukha Dora, Nayak (Nayakapodu).

Reddi Dora, Valmiki and Yanadi use Telugu. The Yanadis speak in the language Telugu but those who live in the border areas of Tamil Nadu also speak a mixture of both Telugu and Tamil. Communities living in Andhra, Orissa border such as Kotiya, Mulia, Porja, Rona and Savara speak both Telugu and Oriya. Similarly, the communities like Pardhan, Gond and Audh speak Telugu and Marathi (Pardhans speak Gondi also).

There are also tribes who use Telugu along with their tribal language. They are: Gadaba (Gadaba), Gond (Gondi), Koya (Koya), Lambada (Lamani or Lambani), Porja (Parji), Yerukala (Yerukula), Jatapu, Samantha and Khonda (Kuvi). Banjara dialect in South India is mixed with the surrounding Dravidian languages. In all the tribal languages, script has not been developed. The tribal dialects are slowly disappearing because of culture contact and the children being educated in schools where medium of instruction is Telugu.

Apart from the above, there are also a large number of nomadic and denotified tribes. Languages and dialects of communities like G. Mathura, Parthi, Ara, Dommara, Peddinti Golla, are Budabudakkala have not received much attention (P. Venkata Rao 2006).

In Karnataka, among the 47 tribal communities listed in 1981 Census, most of them speak the dominant languages of the place where they live. It is difficult to identity the mother tongue of the communities.

The following are tribal communities who speak other languages but live in Karnataka:

1. Adiyan	Tamil, Telugu
2. Gamti, Ganta	Konkani, Tamil, Kodagu
3. Irulas	Tamil, Telugu, Tulu
4. Kattunayakkan	Tamil, Telugu
5. Rathawa	Tamil, Telugu

There are some other communities which have Telugu or Tulu as dominant language than Kannada. They are Barda, Chodara, Konda Kappu, Koraga, Malakudi, Malayekandi.

The complexity of the languages spoken by the tribal groups in different states can be illustrated by the following table (Census 1981):

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe	Language Spoken	
		Andhra Pradesh	Karnataka
1.	Gondi, Nakpond, Raj Gond	Gondi, Telugu	Kannada, Tamil
2.	Kammara	Telugu, Oriya	Kannada, Tulu
3.	Kattunayakan	Telugu, Tamil	Tamil, Telugu
4.	Konda Kappu	Telugu, Oriya, Konda	Kannada, Telugu

It is clear from the above that most of the tribal communities have shifted their mother tongue towards the dominant languages where they live. However, there are some tribal communities such as Hakki Pikki, Kadu Kurumba, Betta Kurumba, Koraja in Karnataka and Bhil, Kondara, Yerukala, Porja, Valmiki in Andhra Pradesh speaking different variety need to be studied from the point of endangerment.

The complexity of the study of endangerment can be illustrated by taking Naikri as an example. It is an important dialect of Kolami. Grierson mentioned about Naikri in *Linguistic Survey of India Vol. IV* (1906). The existence of this language mentioned by Hyslap as Naikudi Gondi seems to have been forgotten and it is not referred to in any census report. Its population is less than 10,000.

Naikri is spoken by Naikpod community. These community people live in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The official or dominant languages of the states where Naikpod people live are Telugu and Marathi. Almost all Naikpod people are multilinguals. They use Gondi, one of the major tribal languages of the area, for inter-group communication. In Andhra Pradesh, almost all Naikpod people lost their language. Now they speak Telugu. In Maharashtra, only people of older generation speak Naikri. The people living in Maharashtra use Naikri for rituals and ceremonies (Thomasaiah 2008).

The perception of the community people about their language and the perception of outsiders about this community and its language

are important factors in the study of endangered languages. Because of this perceptual difference, many varieties of language or communities are overlooked by the census reports. For example, the Naikpod people call their languages as Kolvegotti. Outsiders call it as Naikri, Naikpod and Naikudi. These people call themselves as Kolvar. Outsiders call them as Naikpods.

Adoption of new social and cultural practices which are considered to be superior is one of the factors leading to new identity. The consequence of interacting with culturally advanced groups results in the change in the consumption pattern, religious practice, etc. The Madras Census Report observes about Jatapu that "these are civilized section of Khonds who speak Khond on hills and Telugu on plains are now a distinct caste. They consider themselves superior to Khonds who still eat beef and snakes. They have taken some of the customs of planis (Thurston 1909:453). We can find such type of stratification among tribal communities also. The different tribal groups speaking different languages are stratified according to the eating habits. The Bagata, the Naoka Dora and the Kotiya of Andhra Pradesh occupy the highest social stratum as they do not eat beef. The beef and pork-eating tribal groups like Konda Dora, Porja, Gadaba and Khonds are looked down by them. The Bagata occupy the highest social status (Tribal Welfare Department 1988:8). These types of stratification may lead other groups to move to higher strata by abandoning their cultural practices and language too. Communities differ with regard to what they consider as the core value of culture (Smolicz 1981, cited in Annamalai 2001). Languages are not the core value for all communities and the language of such communities is vulnerable to loss.

Religion plays a major role in the language endangerment of tribal communities. Most of the tribal communities practice a mixture of Hinduism and animism as their religious practice. The spread of Christianity among the tribal groups makes them to loose their language. Among the ten tribal language varieties of Nilgiris, the language endangerment phenomena have been observed in the two tribal communities, viz. Christian Toda and Kasaba (Periyalwar 1995). Some of the Todas are converted into Christianity and they appear to be loosing their Toda language.

Annamalai (2001) has pointed out certain striking parallelism between tribal bilingualism and non-tribal bilingualism. The relationship as non-tribal minorities as the Telugus in Tamil Nadu show that they socialize themselves with the majority language accepting it as their cultural language. Ramamoorthy (2000) has given a set of casual factors for language loss / maintenance after studying the different caste groups that speak Telugu in Tamil Nadu. Most of the factors suit to the tribal situation also. In case of tribal communities, there may be a tribal lingua franca that may mediate the dominant language. Those casual factors are:

i. Inter-language convergent factors

1. Absence of medium of instruction, 2. Status denial in the mainland, 3. Absence of major threat, 4. Government policies with regard to linguistic minorities

ii. Inter-language divergent factors

5. Competition with majority people in employment, 6. Oppression of minority people, 7. Cultural separateness, 8. Claim for autonomy

iii. Intra-language convergent factors

(a) Macro factors

9. Power status of the community, 10. Community solidarity, 11. Identity purpose of the language;

(b) Micro factors

12. Association, 13. Endogamy, 14. Family structure, 15. Business secret preservation, 16. Role of woman as catalyst

iv. Intra-language divergent factors

17. Stigmatised features of the language, 18. Caste hierarchy, 19. Inter-caste marriage, 20. Migration from group members, 21. Higher education

Some of the factors like education, intertribal marriage play a role in tribal situation also. It is claimed that more and more the tribes

became literate in contact languages, the chances of losing their mother tongue become imminent. The spread of literacy appears to work as a catalyst towards the loss of another tongue among the tribes (Gnanasundaram 2006).

The language loss phenomenon observed in some cases among the Kasabas is due to intertribal marriages mainly with Soligas (Ibid.: 85). Gnanasundaram further states that the reason for the language loss observed among Christian Toda is mainly due to the marriage of Toda males with non-tribal women belonging to other language community.

There are some other factors like changing in the naming pattern, adoption of non-tribal caste title with the name, etc. indicate the cultural domination of the plain people. A certain prestige seems to be associated with adopting prefixes and suffixes indicating caste titles like Reddi and Kappu prevails among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh.

Taking all these factors into consideration, a profile of endangered languages if prepared should contain essential details which are closely associated with language endangerment as discussed above. It may be an elaborated version of U.N.E.S.C.O.'s document on language vitality with respect to Indian tribal situation.

Profile Format

Part I

1. Name of the speech form (self/outsider perception)
2. Name of the speech group (self/outsider perception)
3. Population (census-wise, age-group-wise, district administration, tribal / social welfare)
4. Region(s) / Geographical area (place of inhabitation)
5. Cultural zone / Linguistic zone (if any)
6. Language of the area
7. Pattern of language use

8. Other language(s) spoken in the house
9. Linguistic environment
10. Workplace
 Livelihood pursuits
11. Marketplace
12. Language use and attitude across age-groups
13. Lingua franca or common language used by different communities
 for inter-group communication
14. Cultural domain
 Rituals
 Ceremonies
 Religion-related information
 Eating habits
 Intertribal relations
 Marriage-specific information
 Caste / class / clan -related information
15. Education
 Medium of instruction
 Availability of mother tongue in education
16. New domains and media-related information

Part II

- (a) Basic vocabulary (300)
- (b) 25 basic sentence structures

Note: I am thankful to the participants of the workshop organized for the purpose of preparing a profile for endangered language in collaboration with Dravidian University, Kuppam during September 2008.

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A HANDBOOK OF TAMIL NADU

**K.M. Venkataramaiah (Ed.), 1996, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. vi + 556 + xiv,
Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 125/-)**

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Volume I: A thematic introduction arranged in a series of articles on physical anthropology, history, geography & environment, material culture, social organization, religion, life cycle rituals etc.

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Volume III: Contains articles on Dravidian tribes living in the cis-Vindhyan area and north of it. The major tribes described are the Brahui, Gonds, Abujh Maria, Bison Horn Maria, Muria, Maria, Kondh and Oraon.

Notes & Discussions

**CULTURE AND POLITICS IN THE NOVEL
"ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER MAHE"¹**

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'Forgetting' is first of all and technically an unconscious and individual mental phenomenon.² It is akin to leaving something (object or experience) behind, which one has already had, or not having something that one once had. One cannot forget consciously, for then it is a case of 'ignoring.' 'Amnesia' on the other hand, is a somewhat pathological condition where one suffers from habitual forgetting. One also speaks of, by extension, a collective forgetting or amnesia, where a whole community where the latter has forgotten, left behind or no

1. M. Mukundan, 1974. **Mayyazhipuzhayude Theerangalil**, first appeared as a serial in **Mathrubhumi** weekly published from Calicut, in 33 issues from November 5, 1972 to June 17, 1973 (I am grateful to Damodaran D. Nampoothiri for providing this information). It was first published as a book in 1974. The author of the present article has referred to D.C. Books (Kottayam) edition of 1992. English translation, **On the banks of the Mayyazhi** by Gita Krishnankutty, Chennai: East West Books, 1999. French translation based on the English version, **Sur les rives du fleuve Mahé** by Sophie Bastide-Foltz, Paris: Actes Sud, 2002. The English version which contains 36 chapters is a shortened and modified (apparently in collaboration with the author) version of the original which runs into 43 chapters. The quotations in the paper are from the English version, though they have been occasionally modified for the sake of accuracy. The French version is a near-faithful translation of the English version of the novel.

2. The French version of this paper (entitled "Culture et politique franco-keralaise dans le roman 'Sur les rives du fleuve Mahé'") was presented at a conference on "L'Histoire de l'oubli" (The History of Forgetting) held at the University of Primorska, Koper (Capodistria), Slovenia, and organized in collaboration with l'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie, Paris, on 24th and 25th October 2008.

longer possesses, certain 'experiences' it previously had. 'Collective amnesia,' thus, refers more to experiences than to objects as such.

History is a discursive construct in which one tries to trace the lived experience of a people in time. Writing of history is invariably confronted with the question of whether one can include in a conscious and linear discourse all the experiences of a community in historical time. Historical discourse is often the discourse of a dominant few, where the discourses of the minor and marginalized people do not find an adequate place. Historical discourse inevitably involves procedures of selection and rejection, and therefore much of everyday experiences of the people tend to be ignored. This neglect of certain aspects of the history of a people may also be due to the limits of human consciousness and memory, i.e., due to forgetting. It is virtually impossible for history to record the contents of everybody's consciousness or memory of every experience in historical time.

Another question concerns the kind of structuring that history can submit people's experiences to. In its anxiety to have a scientific history, can its discourse adopt a formula-like structure? Or, is a narrative structure inevitable when it is a question of historical writing? We tend to think that this is the case.

A further question is that of the differential experience of discontinuities. Different sections of people have different experiences towards breaks or discontinuities in history. This is probably because different people are differently oriented towards the major events that constitute or lead towards an historical break, such as a revolution. It is in this context a linear temporal notion of history becomes least acceptable. These breaks, in fact, involve a break with the run of history, that is, with the linear flow of time. A disjointedness of time is introduced, towards which different sections of people, that is, especially the dominant and dominated would respond differently.

Such differences in historical perspectives are also the basis of the differences between 'major' and 'minor' histories. 'Major' and 'minor' are construed here as markers of power rather than in terms of any association with a majority or minority of people constructing their histories. Thus, there can be a 'major' history of a minority as well as a 'minor' history of a majority. One can say with reference to the Indian

context that the colonial and nationalist histories represent major histories of two different minorities, and one may ask whether the 'subaltern' histories on the other hand, represent minor histories of a majority of people of India.

It is worth asking whether 'major' and 'minor' histories would be differentiated in terms of their mode of constitution. Would a major history be written in a mode that pays attention to its own scientificity, while a minor history would not take care to eliminate its own narrative mode? In other words, is it the case that a minority that is major in terms power can afford a scientific mode of discourse, with its own emphasis on rationality, while the majority that remains minor tends to adopt the narrative mode, retaining for itself what would be perceived as raw emotive content?

It is in the convergence of the meaning of history as a scientific construct with the meaning of history as narrative, that the question of literature becomes relevant for us. What is the relationship between literary narrative and history, major or minor? Is the discourse of literature, when the latter presents a historical narrative, historical enough to satisfy the demands of historiography in the strict sense of the term? Can the narrative of literary history be sufficiently conscious to account for all the relevant events that academic history would be concerned with? Is the unconscious aspect of certain literary historical narratives prone to biases and prejudices that are patently unscientific? Are the events of literary history acceptable as events of academic history? Do literary and academic histories make use of the same sources, e.g. personal accounts, media and archives of official and unofficial documents? What kind of discursive and linguistic transformations are to be expected in the two different kinds of histories? Are the conscious and unconscious contents of the two kinds of history compatible? What is the relationship between these two kinds of histories on the one hand and the unconscious and conscious aspects of our experience? Taking these questions and possible responses to them into consideration, is it appropriate to set up a hierarchy of academic history and literary history, in which the latter is thought of as a 'minor' history, where the term 'minor' refers not to absolute insignificance but to its own powerlessness?

Literature, as 'minor history,' would thus be marked by its own impotence. It would be devoid of any administrative-political or

pedagogical role. It would remain in its own passivity, which as Maurice Blanchot reminds us is the mark of the 'space of literature.' But literature in its passivity is both absent and present, and thus it is simultaneously (and for sure, paradoxically) infinitely powerless and enormously powerful. It is absent in the sense that it cannot participate in the speech acts that characterize our everyday life. It is present to the extent that it can move and affect the persons who happen to read it. And moreover, the more literature tries to shun power, the more unforeseeable, unacknowledged and unclaimed power it tends to accrue.

As linguistic acts, all literature may be thought of as minor discourses and some among these may even be minor histories. However, according to Gilles Deleuze's perspective, literature may be either major or minor, and the philosopher evidently privileges the latter. Kafka is a 'minor litterateur' according to Deleuze, and his works are instances of what the latter calls minor literature, which firstly "is not that of a minor language, rather what a minority does in a major language;" secondly, in minor literatures, "everything is political"; and thirdly "everything in it takes on collective value."³

It is in this sense that Malayalam writer, M. Mukundan's novel, 'On the Banks of the River Mahe', can be viewed as an instance of minor literature.⁴ This novel is indeed regarded as a major novel, written in a 'minor' literary language of the world, viz., Malayalam (i.e., it is not widely known on the global literary scene), a language spoken by more than 30 million people belonging to or originating from the state of Kerala in the south-west of India. At the same time, it (the novel) qualifies to be considered as a 'minor literature' in Malayalam language itself, since it is written in a non-standard dialect of northern Kerala, and is interspersed with occasional words and sentences in

3. Gilles Deleuze, 1975. **Kafka - pour une littérature mineure**. Paris: Minuit, pp. 29-31.

4. Mahe, or Mayyazhi, a small town on the southwest coast of Kerala, is geographically contiguous with the state of Kerala, but administratively and politically it is currently part of the Union Territory of Pondicherry. It was one of the five territories in the Indian geographical region, which were under French rule till 1954. The five territories, Chandernagore, Yaanam, Pondicherry, Karaikal and Mahe formed part what was the colonial 'French India.' Mayyazhi (Mahe) River passes by the town and flows into the Arabian Sea.

French language. The special feature of this novel is the polyphony involving a non-standard dialect of Malayalam and the French language. Perhaps it is the only novel in Malayalam, which contains so many linguistic elements in a European language other than English. French, a major world language, appears in this novel as a minor language, transliterated and transcribed into a minor world language (i.e., Malayalam) itself written in a minor and non-standard dialect.

Besides, it is also a novel that relates a story from the colonial and post-colonial context of India. It speaks of the coexistence and the confrontation between the colonizing and the colonized peoples in a small French-speaking territory. Thus it relates a small part of the global history of modern colonization, in and through a non-standard dialect spoken in a small linguistic region of India. Thus the narrative acquires a decidedly political value.

It is also worth noting that for the author of the present paper, reading the novel in the original language involved an experience of returning to a language that is now a minor language for him, and which in fact was the major language of his childhood. (The author's first language, at least biographically, is Malayalam, and currently, two of his main working languages are English and French.) That is to say, reading the novel in the original Malayalam, has brought him face-to-face with his personal history of certain linguistic forgetting, which of course, has been at least partially overcome by the very act of reading and working on the novel.

The relevance of this novel for the theme of the conference has to do with its central narrative of the event of 'liberation' of the tiny territory of Mahe from French rule in 1954. The narrative brought this event out into the open, by resisting its forgetting, in the context of other major and more significant narratives about India's obtaining independence from British rule in 1947. The novel has successfully overcome the forgetting of the event of Mahe's liberation in the wake of a preponderant number of discourses in English and other languages dealing with the greater event of Indian independence movement. The liberation of Mahe, as well as the events and people surrounding it, receive in this novel a major literary treatment, but the novel remains an

instance of minor literature as it is written in a minor dialect of Malayalam language, with a minor flavouring of French language.

In this narrative of liberation of Mahe, Dasan, a character perfectly well educated in French institutions at Mahe and Pondicherry (where he completes his Baccalauréat), is the main character. The discourse of the novel consists of interconnected narratives, some of which are taken from real life, while others are mythical and fictional. The function of these narratives is perhaps to resist the forgetting of the politically and culturally significant real events, as well as to rearticulate the somewhat mythified 'memory' of the historical or quasi-historical events that have affected the community. The novel's main task is to fictionally portray the life of the people of Mahe before and immediately after its liberation. It was written about 15 years after this major event. It captures more or less faithfully the often intertwining lives of the members of a small community of French and Franco-Keralan métis, and those of the local Keralans and other Indians living in the territory of Mahe. The territory is administered by a French administrator who is referred to as *Mooppan Saivu* (Grand Sahib) in the novel.⁵ He is the first person to possess a car in the town.⁶ The other French or half-French individuals of the town are: David, a bachelor, who has the local prostitute Kunhichirutha as his stable mistress; Edouard, a school-teacher; Lorraine, the commissar, who has moustache like Stalin; Leslie, the notary, and his wife who is simply known as 'Missie,' and their two sons, Albert and Gaston. Leslie is the son of Clément, who was a wine-shop owner and who claimed to be a descendent of the Count of Lally who fought against the British; and Missie is the daughter of Armand, who was a spice-merchant. Clément wanted a 'pure' French bride for his son, and when he saw Missie, "he felt as if his eyes had seen the golden sun and became dazzled." She was

5. Administrator's real name was Deschamps. See, Ajit K. Neogy, **Decolonization of French India - Liberation Movement and Indo-French Relations 1947-1954**, Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondicherry, 1997.

6. The town is criss-crossed by a few streets bearing distinctly French names: Rue de la Résidence, Rue de la Prison, Rue du Gouvernement, Rue de la Cimetière, Rue de l'Église, Rue de la Gare. There are also a few French schools: l'École des garçons, l'École des filles, Cours Supplémentaire, and Collège La Bourdonnais. The court, or Palais de Justice and Mairie are in the centre of the town which is also dotted with a prominent church of the Virgin Mary situated on a hillock and the Meethala temple dedicated to goddess Bhagwati.

said to have "shining blue eyes" and "curly golden hair." When Leslie and Missie were seen walking along the beach hand in hand, the folk of Mahe would remark that they were truly "made for each other."⁷

However, after the disgraceful exit of their elder son Albert, and his presumed disappearance in a French legion in Indo-China, Leslie is glad to arrange the marriage of his younger son Gaston with T  r  se, the daughter of a former mayor of Pondicherry, Ch  valier Ignace. But this marriage would soon end in tragic failure due to Gaston's impotence. The parents are heart-broken when Gaston returns home from his honeymoon with an indelible shame and decides to shut himself up in his upstairs room with only a guitar and dolorous music for company for the rest of his life.

Leslie and Missie maintain the most amicable relations with the local Malayali people of the town, especially with the family of Dasan.⁸ Kurambi, Dasan's grandmother, is a source of great solace and perhaps (at one time) sexual gratification for Leslie, and he visits her every evening to get a pinch of intoxicating tobacco powder ('snuff'). She hardly knows any French, but just enough to say "*Oui, monsieur*" to Leslie's query, "*  a va?*". Gaston and Damu, Kurambi's son and Dasan's father, who worked as a scribe in the court, were also classmates and childhood friends.

The other noteworthy characters associated with the administration are: Chekku Mooppar, the Mayor, who is black as teakwood, and his French wife; Sergeant en retraite Kunhikannan, who has fought in Kampuchea; Karunan, the Secr  taire; Sukumaran, the clerk.

Among the interlacing narratives of the novel, the most prominent are that of the vicissitudes of the French rule in Mahe and that of the rise to prominence of Dasan followed by his desolation and tragic disappearance. Dasan becomes the intellectual and moral force of the liberation movement. Under the able guidance of his teacher

7. **On the Banks of the Mayyazhi**, p. 8. (The English translation refers to Mahe as Mayyazhi, the local name of the town in Malayalam. In this paper, we use the two names interchangeably).

8. Missie, we read, "spoke Malayalam as fluently as anyone in Mahe." (ibid., p. 14)

Kunhanandan, a determined communist (who adorned his house with pictures of Marx, Lenin and Stalin), nourished by the writings of French writers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*Le Contrat Social*), Victor Hugo (*Hernani*), de Beaumarchais (*Le mariage de Figaro*), Balzac and André Gide,⁹ and in spite of opposition from his grandmother Kurambi and his father Damu, the scribe, Dasan organizes the young men of Mahe in a political struggle against the French, which is eventually successful. In the process, however, Dasan, has to defiantly forego a comfortable career in the French administration, which is offered to him on a platter as it were, by Grand Sahib, and is forced to end his amorous relationship with his childhood friend, Chandrika, who unable to bear the sorrow of the break-up, presumably takes her own life. In spite of the success of the liberation struggle, which culminates in the French administration deciding to quit Mahe for good, Dasan's youthful life is mutilated by despair, and he ends up wasting his life until his premature death on the banks of the river Mahe. Dasan's story is indeed told in a tragic mould as neither does the liberation that he and his friends spearheaded seem to be able to sustain the spirit of the Mahe people, nor would Chandrika's father allow Dasan to unite in marriage with his beloved.

The novel's fictional description and an independent historian's account,¹⁰ both articulate the fact that the liberation of Mahe was the consequence of a daring 'revolt' by the local people in 1948. Chapter 23 of the novel gives a detailed account of the revolt which involved the capture of many French establishments in Mahe. The revolt, according to the novel, started when some of Dasan's friends and their sympathizers, who were active in the liberation struggle, were refused their voter cards before an impending referendum on the status of the French territories in India. They forced their way into the office of the Mayor, Raman, by pushing him aside. They shouted: "All those who have a right to vote must be given their cards. Give us our cards." The revolt turned unruly. "They pulled open the almirah doors, took out the voter cards stacked inside and threw them on the floor. The ground was

9. One of Dasan's close associates, Pappan, is never satisfied with the pacifist trajectory of the liberation struggle. In his urge for violent activism, he thinks of Gide's motto, "Vivez dangereusement." (live dangerously) (ibid., p. 194).

10. Ajit K. Neogy, op. cit.

soon scattered with old, faded papers. Chairs and tables lay turned over. The rebels heaped the papers on the road and set fire to them."¹¹ Soon Dasan arrived on the scene and large sections of people, including teachers and students of La Bourdonnais College, and clerks in the offices, came out and marched through the main streets of Mahe shouting cries of victory. The rebels then went to the Residence of Grand Sahib, who faced the events with Stoic calm. "Grand Sahib stood at the arched glass window, binoculars in hand, watching the unfolding drama silently. His eyes, bluer than the sea crashing against his ancient bungalow, were blurred with tears."¹² "Don't shoot," he ordered the policemen who were waiting "to pull the triggers of their rifles, as the rioters entered the forbidden territory." Soon, "innumerable flags with the saffron, white and green started fluttering over Mayyazhi."¹³

In spite of the event of 'liberation,' a large part of the novel in fact narrates tragic existential stories. There are few characters who survive the onslaught of time, both in the main fictional narrative, and in the secondary narratives. Perhaps, the story of Dasan is intended to be elevated to that of a martyr of the land, similar to the tragic-heroic story of Jeanne d'Arc that Kurambi, Dasan's grandmother, is fond of narrating, and which the entire people of Mahe are sorrowfully aware of. "No grandmother in Mayyazhi could tell the story of Jeanne d'Arc without weeping. Every child in Mayyazhi had grown up with the story and wept over the tragic fate of the shepherd girl who was burnt to

11. Mukundan, **On the banks of the River Mayyazhi**, pp. 152-53.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 154. As per Neogy's more recent historical account, on 21 October 1948, after having waited till late afternoon, to get their identity cards, 'large number of people led by Kumaran [real leader of the movement] marched to the residence of the Mayor and finding him unhelpful, returned and restored to picketing in the municipal office [**Mairie**] demanding the distribution of the cards. Kumaran (who was a sitting municipal counsellor) had sharp exchange of words with the Police Commissioner who was there. The latter became violent and assaulted Kumaran. N. Narayanan Nair, a Praja Socialist Party worker was also manhandled. This provoked the wrath of the people and the situation degenerated. Those assembled there was joined by a large crowd including fisherman...They ransacked the municipal office, seized the electoral rolls and burnt them. The Police Commissioner was roughed....Records of civil and criminal cases were removed from the court and destroyed. The Residency was besieged. The Administrator and his family became prisoners. The armed guards of the Administrator's office surrendered.'" (Ajit K. Neogy, *op. cit.* p. 112).

death."¹⁴ On hearing the story of Jeanne d'Arc from Kurambi, Dasan himself "thought of the pyre in the plaza of Vieux Marchi and the shepherd girl standing with joined palms in the middle of it. Tears flowed unchecked from his eyes."¹⁵

Kurambi is also a treasure-house of Mahe's tales which she is fond of narrating to her grandchildren, Dasan and his sister Girija. Her husband Kelu Achan died of snake-bite while he was toiling as usual in the field during the monsoon. Kurambi's reaction when she heard of the snake-bite was to turn towards the cross on the clock-tower of the church of the Virgin, and pray: "Save my man."¹⁶ But neither the Mother of Mahe (the Virgin) nor Malayan Kudungan, whose magical powers could draw out any poison, is able to save Kelu from dying.

Kurambi's first story is a mythical account of how Kunjakkan and his ancestors of two previous generations became lame. Kurumbachan, the grandfather of Kunjakkan had taken to drinking early in his youth. One day, in order to keep up his drinking spree and to retrieve his coconut-scraper that he had pawned in the arrack shop on a previous occasion, he stole a bunch of bananas from a tree in the temple precincts. While he was returning home blissfully after trading the banana-bunch in the arrack-shop, with the coconut-scraper secure under his arm, he is attacked by Gulikan, the goddess's dancer, who was demanding his temple bananas back.

"Kurumbachan heard the sound of dancing bells as he reached the temple. A pale figure loomed out of the dark. Kurumbachan's heart beat fast. He stood with his eyes popping out.

'Where are my bananas?'

Gulikan stepped out of the temple, wearing anklets and skirt of palm fronds. Kurumbachan's hair stood on end.

'Where are the bananas?' repeated the apparition.

14. Ibid., p. 37.

15. Ibid., p. 37.

16. Ibid., p. 10.

'Forgive this creature!' Kurumbachan fell at his feet.

The deity kicked Kurumbachan and ran back, hooting into the darkness of the temple. Kurumbachan lay dumbstruck among the fallen hibiscus flowers. The scraper shot out of his hand. He did not know how long he lay there. When he got up, he found that his right foot had gone lame.

Kurumbachan's son, Kunhikutti, was born lame as well, in his right foot. And Kunhikutti's son Kunjakkan was also lame in his right foot."¹⁷

Kurambi's second story about life in Mahe, though again mythically-framed is perhaps even more morally charged. It is a story that she would tell only to Dasan. It is the story of how Vaisravan Chettiar, a prosperous, itinerant silk-vendor of Mahe was enticed by Kunhimanikkam, the prettiest damsel of the town.

"Her skin colour was of beaten gold. The thought of Kunhimanikkam, decked in jewels and wearing *kasavu mundu*, haunted the men of Mayyazhi while they slept. Even the white men were disturbed by her. As their ships neared the shore, they would be impatient to be with her."¹⁸

Whenever Vaisravan sought permission to visit her, she excused herself by telling him she already had as visitor one or other white man. Once it was Bernard Sahib, the next day it was Antony Sahib, then it was Francis sahib, and so on. Expecting an entry into her chamber, Vaisravan sacrificed for her all his valuable possessions, precious silks and gold jewellery. Gradually, he lost interest in his business and wilted away. "And he soon drew his last breath without ever having possessed Kunhimanikkam."¹⁹

But later, while she was taking her elaborate bath in a flower-scented pond near-by, a serpent approached her on three

17. Ibid., p. 38-39.

18. Ibid., p. 40.

19. Ibid., p. 42.

successive days accompanied by a whistle. "It stopped by the side of the pond, spread out its hood and devoured Kunhimanikkam's beauty."²⁰

In spite of Kunhuraman's best magical chants and medicinal remedies to ward off the serpent, it kept coming back to her house insistently. The serpent forces itself one night in an intimate encounter with the courtesan Kunhimanikkam, which results in her violent death. The scene, in which both the beauty and the beast perish, is described in a tragic frame followed by a mystical explanation.

Dawn broke. Crows cawed loudly and beat their wings noisily as they flew over Kunhimanikkam's house. Covered with jewels, she lay lifeless on her silk mattress. The serpent lay dead as well, its hood on her bare breasts.

'Do you know who that serpent was?' Kurambi Amma took a pinch of snuff from her box, inhaled it and went on, 'It was Vaisravan Chettiar.'²¹

Mahe's story (again mythical) of the battle between St. Sebastien (referred to as Veluthachan, literally the 'white father') and Vasoori Amma (the Hindu goddess associated with the eruption of small-pox), at a time when the disease raged in the town is narrated to Kurambi Amma by bandman Kanari. As per the authorial narrative: "When oracles and sorcerers failed to control the disease, devotees brought Veluthachan out from the church. The cortège bearing his idol wound slowly through the streets. The church bells chimed sadly."²² This event is further mythically modified and exaggerated by bandman Kanari, who claims that he saw with his own eyes "the battle between Veluthachan and Vasoori Amma."²³ As per Kanari's awestricken account,

"the battle had taken place in the vicinity of the Church of the Virgin the previous night. Veluthachan had been on a white

20. Ibid., p. 42.

21. Ibid., p. 42.

22. Ibid., p. 59.

23. Ibid., p. 59.

horse and was armed with a lance while Vasoori Amma had worn a white saree and had her hair streaming over her back."²⁴

Dasan, however, refuses to believe that the spread of small-pox in the town is due to presence of the black goddess of Vasoori. He tries to explain to Kurambi Amma, who places a pot of cow-dung mixed with water on her door-step, for keeping the goddess of small-pox away: "It's a virus that brings the small-pox, not Vasoori Amma."²⁵

The authorial narrative also tells the reader of the conflict between the young and politically conscious men of Mahe and its traditional folk in the context of a temple ritual. After the death of Malayan Kurumban, the responsibility of performing the most important Thira ritual at the Meetala temple, falls on his son, Uthaman. Uthaman, in the company of his young friends, is already known to be a communist, and is keen "to educate himself and find a respectable job."²⁶ But due to poverty, he is forced to take up the temple rituals, including the performance of Thira. But Uthaman is not ready to follow the requisite codes of personal hygiene. He refuses to keep the regimen of not eating meat or fish, and of observing celibacy during the festival period. Being progressive, he must defy the traditional rules of the temple. On the eve of Thira, he cooks himself a basketful of sardines and eats them and then goes to Kallu the prostitute to satisfy his sexual desire.

The next day in the temple, he is dressed up as the local god Gulikan, wearing a long headgear, and begins to dance.

As the dance grew faster, the balancing sticks were discarded. Gulikan began to dip and sway in the yellow light, his enormous headgear caught in the whirlwind movement of the ritual dance. The headgear dipped and rose against the skyline. At the climax of the ritual dance, Uthaman faltered and fell on his face.

...

24. Ibid., p. 59.

25. Ibid., p. 60.

26. Ibid., p. 98.

In the flickering lamplight, Uthaman could be seen writhing, his neck broken under the weight of the towering headgear.²⁷

We notice that the French citizens of the town are on the whole portrayed in their friendly relations with the local people of Mahe. The Administrator, Grand Sahib or *Mooppan Saivu*, is seen to bear goodwill towards them. This is best evident when Dasan is invited to meet him in his residence (adorned with Van Gogh's *Le champ de blé*) after he had passed the brevet examination of the *cours complémentaire*. Grand Sahib utters these kind words to Dasan:

"L'état se réjouit de ton succès...

Poursuit tes études...

Va à Pondichéry...

L'état t'accorde une bourse...

L'état s'occupe désormais de toi."²⁸

But Dasan rejects the offer. Later, however, when the liberation movement was gaining momentum and when Dasan and the other leader of the movement, Kanaran were invited to meet him, Grand Sahib is decidedly very curt, and tries to threaten them with military action. He was sitting in office chair with a pair of binoculars in his hand.

'What do you want?' he asked, without turning around.

'Freedom,' said Dasan.

Grand Sahib still had his back to them. ...

'Freedom?'

'Yes.'

Grand Sahib pushed open the windows.

'Look my friends...'

27. Ibid., p. 98.

28. "The State rejoices in your success... Pursue your studies. Go to Pondicherry. The state is granting you a scholarship. The state will look after you from now on."

He pointed to the sea. The silhouettes of battleships were etched against the horizon. They were moving towards Mahe.²⁹

But, on the day of deliverance, that is on the day of final handing of charge to the people of India, on the 14th of July, 1954, the Grand Sahib, in a friendly gesture, places his right hand on Kanaran's shoulder and tells him:

Mahé... c'est à vous.³⁰

The Silvery Rock (*Velliyan Kallu*), situated in the distant sea, barely visible from the shore of Mahe, plays the role of a transcendental bearer of memory, in this novel.³¹ The distant rock-island is

29. Historian Neogy writes that it was the Gouverneur de l'Inde Française, Baron, who had instructed to send a battle-ship, **Commandant Bory** to rush immediately to Mahe "for rescuing the beleaguered Administrator and his family and reconquer Mahe and re-establish French sovereignty there." (Neogy, p. 113) Baron had "announced that France would protect by all means the people of French India so that they might freely express their wishes in a democratic manner." However, things happened contrary to his intentions. "The arrival of 'Commandant Bory' had created panic in Mahe. The Administrator and his family were taken away by the nationalists to an unknown destination. Other Frenchman had fled. Nearly 75% of the people of Mahe also left the town with their families for fear of reprisals by the French troops." (ibid., p. 114)

30. "Mahe... is yours." According to Neogy, several political and administrative factors, led to volatile and unmanageable state of affairs in Mahe in July 1954. Finally, "the Mahe Administrator found himself unable to maintain order and solicited permission from Paris authorities for evacuating the pocket. Accordingly on 16 July Deschamps, Mahe Administrator, handed over **de facto** governmental power to the people of Mahe. I.K. Kumaran, President of the Mahajana Sabha and Joint Action Committee, took over charge of the Mahe administration on behalf of the people. He hoisted the national flag on the Government House. Wishing happiness and prosperity of the people, Deschamps left Mahe that same afternoon. In Mahe, the French government had not really transferred power to Indian hands. France was, in fact, compelled to retire." (Neogy, op. cit. page 261) In the novel, the Grand Sahib's departure by ship is described as a sorrowful event for both sides. Large numbers of Mahe people waited in blazing sun to have a final glimpse of Grand Sahib. As he came down from his bungalow: "Grand Sahib's bleu eyes hovered over each of his subjects, standing in rows on the seashore. '**Adieu, mes enfants!**' He raised his right hand slowly. Kurambi Amma... broke into sobs.... The ship's anchor was raised. All Mayyazhi wept as the ship moved away. Their tears moistened the burning sand." (**On the banks of the Mayyazhi**, p. 231)

31. As per a tourist publicity document of the Kerala government, "Velliyan kallu can be viewed from the shores of North Malabar between Elathur and Tellicherry amidst the sea, like a mole cast, smoke grey in colour in clear sunny days. Its

metaphysically the transit zone for all the souls coming into and going out of Mahe and it is capable of resisting all forgetting. It is also the source of all life-sustaining creativity of this land. Dasan is told by his grandmother, Kurambi, that before he was born he existed on the Silvery Rock, which is described in the novel as a "cluster of rocks... that lay far out in sea like a bright tear drop." "All Mahe's children had come from there. The souls waiting to be born in Mahe fluttered over the sun-bright rocks as dragonflies."³² This was the place for the transmigration of the souls, as per the Hindu beliefs. When Dasan first looked at it as a child: "*Velliyan Kallu* could be seen in the distance as if in a dream, the souls fluttering over it like dragonflies. Souls that were waiting to be born or reborn, souls taking a brief rest from the cycle of birth and rebirth."³³

Later, when he had become an adult, in a moment of self-reflection, he would tell himself that, "Once upon a time, my soul was a dragonfly, fluttering over the Silvery Rock. He was lost in thought for a moment, full of the mystery of life and death."³⁴ Dasan was becoming aware of a profound exteriority to which his existence was linked, from which his being and his consciousness could not be detached. The *Velliyan Kallu* also becomes for him a metaphysical source of inspiration during his troubled and anxiety-ridden political development. "... Where was Mahe's freedom?" He reflects. "As far away as *Velliyan Rock*, where unborn souls hovered like dragon-flies..."³⁵ And finally, when the people of Mahe revolted leading to the capture of many French government offices and hoisting of

exact location is about 14 km. away from the nearest shore Payyoli beach. *Velliyan Kallu* is a group of rocks formed as an island extending about three acres and having much aesthetic beauty. Until recent times fishermen folk were the only people visited this place and it was for earning their living....*Velliyan Kallu* is not only a sanctuary for souls but it is a sanctuary for birds also. This is the habitat for some particular kinds of birds and they are the only inhabitants on this rocky island '*Velliyan Kallu - an Enchanting Spot Awaiting Adventures*' by P. Kunhabdulla. (www.kerala.gov.in/kercaljun06/pg42-43.pdf) accessed on 21 November 2008.

32. Ibid., p. 27.

33. Ibid., p. 27.

34. Ibid., p. 56.

35. Ibid., p. 120.

Indian national flags on many of them, the narrative says: "A breeze blew in from the distant Velliyan Kallu, the abode of Mayyazhi's souls.... Mayyazhi was free."³⁶

Thought about the Velliyan Kallu would keep returning to Dasan, whether he was exerting himself during the political struggle, or when he is in self-exile outside Mahe, or when he thought of his beloved Chandrika. When he came to know that Chandrika had disappeared for ever from the house that her father had built specially for her to live with a bride he had arranged for her against her own wishes, only Dasan knew where she was. "The breeze blowing from Velliyan Rock carried Chandrika's voice to him. 'When I grow up, Dasetta, will you marry me?'... Only he knew. That she was on Velliyan Rock where souls fluttered like dragonflies."³⁷

And finally, at the very end of the novel, Dasan also disappears, after having spent his last days listlessly on the banks of the river Mahe, deeply immersed in multiple sorrows. He had perhaps returned to the place of his origins, the place of the origin and return of all those who belonged to Mahe. For those who sought him, Dasan couldn't be found. But: "Across the water, the Silvery Rock could be seen like a teardrop. Souls fluttered over it like dragonflies. One of these dragonflies was Dasan."³⁸

36. Ibid., p. 154.

37. Ibid., pp. 253-54.

38. Ibid., p. 255.

A HANDBOOK OF KERALA (Vol. 1)

T. Madhava Menon (Ed.), 2000, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. xii+373,
Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 125/-)

Among the I.S.D.L. series of *handbooks* of various States in India, the two-volume set on Kerala by T. Madhava Menon (IAS Retd.) has been published. The first volume covers the physiography, geography and physical features of the State, its forests, fauna and flora, history, religion and economy. The prehistorical foundations of Kerala have been detailed by Professor Rajendran. Because of the facilities available in the I.S.D.L., the section on history is based on a more intensive interpretation of Tamil sources. In the section on religion, folk belief-systems of the sociology of religious changes and the rituals of Hindu forms of worship have been described. The section contains articles on Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. There are articles on temple architecture, with illustrations. The section on economy contains contributions from some of the most eminent authors on this subject. The *Kerala Model*, out-migration, demographic transition and stagnation have also been analyzed.

A HANDBOOK OF KERALA (Vol. 2)

T. Madhava Menon (Ed.), 2002, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. xi+497+xxxiv,
Rs. 1,500/- (US\$ 140/-)

The detailed and very attractive second volume covers arts, language and literature, places of interest and communities. The descriptions are based on field notes and other observations. No other volume on the progressive state has complete information on several areas which users in any field will find quite useful. One will be proud to own the copy.

Notes & Discussions

**LANGUAGE AND ITS SOCIAL CORRELATES:
A STUDY BASED ON THE
MALAYALAM WORKS OF MADHAVIKKUTTY**

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Abstract

This paper attempts to study language correlated to extra-linguistic factors like class and caste. The study is based on the language of various characters in the Malayalam works of Kamala Das alias Madhavikkutty, one of the most renowned writers of Kerala of the present century. The society of Kamala Das's childhood days was a highly stratified caste society in Kerala that reflected very well on the language of the people. Her memory works provide a social milieu of the third, fourth and fifth decades of the twentieth century wherein different dialects and accents had different social relevance. It is a well-known fact that it was a caste-ridden society, which had its implications in every aspect of life including language. What is being attempted here is highlighting the fact that the internationally acclaimed writer Kamala Das had a flair for the nuances of the language that the people around her spoke. Kamala Das has been studied from many angles, as a confessional poet, as a spokesperson of neglected womanhood, as a lover of humanity in general and the like. So also, the psychological insight that she exhibits over her characters is amazing. But the socio-linguistic aspect of her Malayalam works is a much-neglected area, which definitely provides scope for a closer study.

Sociolinguistics is concerned with language issues related to real life in the social context. It differs from formal linguistics in that it tries

to tackle language as a social phenomenon whereas formal linguistics constructs a simplified language whose behaviour can be predicted. Sociolinguists give emphasis to language change and variation as the central point of their study.

Sociolinguists do not look at language as a mere carrier of linguistic messages. In literary works especially, the function of language goes much beyond the level of mere denotation. J.A. Fishman, one of the most known sociolinguists of the twentieth century asserts thus:

Language is not merely a means of interpersonal communication and influence. It is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a maker of situations and topics as well as of the societal roles and large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community. (4)

No work of literature can stand in isolation as a closed structure. Language is essentially a set of linguistic items and theorists like Noam Chomsky were basically concerned with their arrangement and how they form a system. But social theories are keen on relating linguistic entities with social concepts. How language is used to incorporate social concepts like power, class, status, solidarity, conflict, etc. is a topic that is viewed from the sociolinguistic perspective. In addition to carrying out the communicative role, speech may also reflect the social relations between the speaker and the addressee, especially the power and solidarity manifested in such relationship. Different languages and societies make use of different strategies and methods for emphasizing the politeness content. Malayalam is a language which strongly encodes social relationships. In its pronoun patterns and address terms, Malayalam shows many characteristic features of the periods through which it has developed. The social structure of the state is fast changing, leading to resulting language modifications, but the language still retains vestiges of the social system rooted in inequalities that went hand in hand with the caste system. Listening to a conversation, a third person easily understands whether the two people are intimate or not,

whether one wields more power over the other and the like. Florian Coulmas puts the idea succinctly thus:

Verbal communication is not limited to the exchange of information but includes as one of its major functions, the shaping of interpersonal relationships. In making their linguistic choices, speakers take this function into account. In order to adjust their speech behaviour the communicative purposes at hand, they monitor their speech. Among the many choices they make in conversation, the politeness level of their utterances is one of the more conspicuous, and it is where social constraints are most keenly felt. (84)

Any realistic study of language takes into consideration its variation based on different factors. No two people speak exactly alike and nobody speaks exactly the same at all times. Minor variation in language does not interest the linguist because he finds a fundamental underlying unity in them. But when people speak different varieties of the same language distinguished by features of phonology, grammar and vocabulary, we call them as dialects. The topic of social class divisions and its consequences has been taken up and studied elaborately by economists, sociologists and psychologists. Class differentiation and its linguistic consequences is only one dimension of the topic. Social stratification - the hierarchical ordering of groups within a society - is what gives rise linguistically to social class dialects.

Peter Trudgill introduces the topic of social class and language variation thus:

Speaker A	Speaker B
I done it yesterday	I did it yesterday
He ain't got it	He hasn't got it
It was her what said it	It was her that said it

If you heard these speakers say these things, you would guess that B was of higher social status than A and you would almost certainly be right. How is it that we are able to do this sort of thing? The answer lies in the existence of varieties of language, which have come to be called as social class dialects.

There are grammatical differences between the speeches of these two speakers, which give us clues about their social backgrounds. It is also probable, although this is not indicated on the printed page, that these differences will be accomplished by phonetic and phonological differences, that is to say, there are also different social-class accents. The internal differentiation of human societies is reflected in their languages. Different social groups use different linguistic varieties and as experienced members of a speech community, we have learned to classify speakers accordingly. (22-23)

Kamala Das, the author under study, is fine-tuned to subtle dialect differences among people. One of the major attractions of her Malayalam works form such fine differentiation of language as observed by her, based on factors of class, caste and region. She used to pay much attention to the conversation of ordinary people, especially the servants and dependents of her maternal ancestral home where she used to stay quite often as a small girl. *Varshangalkumunpe*, *Balyakala Smaranakal* and *Neermathalam Poothakalam* are the major works of Madhavikkutty set against her ancestral home known as Nalappat and covering roughly the third and fourth decades of the 20th century. Even a casual reading of these works reveals the unique caste system that prevailed in Kerala, which stratified people into various levels depending on the nature of their profession handed down to them from generation to generation.

Distinctions based on wealth or status are part of any social set-up but the caste system differs from them in that one cannot out-step the boundaries of the caste into which one is born. Ambitious people can breach class boundaries but this is not possible in the case of the caste system. A caste system is another face of the class system with no social or occupational mobility. In the present-day India, people are free to choose the job of their choice but the caste into which they are born still forms part of their identity.

The above-mentioned memory works of Madhavikkutty reflect such a social structure that prevailed in Kerala at that time. The untouchables stood outside the many-tiered caste system consisting of the *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra* castes, in the descending

order of supremacy. The untouchables were treated as less than human beings and were forbidden even to touch the others.

Terms of address and communicative gestures varied to a very great extent from one caste to another. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas would not talk to the members of the Nair community (Madhavikkutty belonged to the Nair community, of the *sudra* caste) on equal basis. The mother of the Kshatriya family was addressed by other castes as *ammathampuran* and the master and mistress of the Nair family were called by lower classes as *thampuran* and *thampuratty* respectively. People belonging to various castes rendered services at the Nalappat household and their land but only the Nair-caste people were allowed to work as cooks and caretakers. Men and women belonging to the Nair caste, even if they belonged to the lower working class, were not to be addressed on equal terms by the *Thiyyas* and castes coming below them.

At many places, Madhavikkutty mentions the pathetic condition of the *nayadis*, considered as the lowest of the untouchables. They were not allowed to stand anywhere near the vicinity of the houses of others or come within their sight. They had to stand beyond the paddy fields and beg for food, hiding themselves behind coconut trees. Madhavikkutty remembers that the begging for food had to be done according to an accepted pattern. It had to be in the form of a sob. For an outsider, it provides shocking information that even crying for the sake of food had to follow social regulations. Later, when as an adult, she had to undergo inferior treatment at a symposium in Delhi along with some other South Indians, she remembers that as a member of the class that ill-treated the *nayadis*, she deserved such a treatment.

Madhavikkutty provides many examples wherein language definitely served a role in sustaining the highly discriminatory social set-up. Different dialects and accents had different social relevance. How language served as a tool for the upper classes to maintain a gap between them and the lower classes and how language was a stumbling block for the underprivileged to talk to others with confidence or to talk to others on equal terms are some of the topics dealt with by Madhavikkutty.

Madhavikkutty remembers an incident when a *Korathi* woman once came to her house. The *Kurava* community was one of the very

low categories of people and they lived by reading palms. The servant of the household who was with the young Kamala was astonished when she heard the young Kamala asking the Korathi what her name was. According to the servant, Korathis did not have names or there was no need why they should have names. But the parrot that the Korathi took along with her had a name; she called it as 'Sivakaami'. In fact, naming a child is one of the first linguistic gestures of the society intended as a step towards his/her socialization and establishment of identity. Madhavikkutty mentions this incident to highlight the injustice prevailing in a society as reflected in language. Some classes of people had special titles by which only others could address them whereas one class could not even own a name. Denying a name is one of the best and sure methods to strip a person of his identity, take away his self-confidence and block his onward progress.

She remembers another incident when as a young girl she told her grandmother: "*Adityan* does not need pappads along with rice" (*adityan* is a word indicating the inferior status of the speaker and his / her subservience to the addressee). The grandmother forbade her from saying the word *adityan* again. Kamala replies thus: "Doesn't Valli, the servant, say thus?" Ammamma justifies it and adds that Valli has to say that word because she belongs to the lower caste. It was meant for the lower castes. Kamala should say *njaan* instead (respectable form of 'I'). The Thiyyas and castes coming below them never addressed the upper-caste women using the usual address forms *nii* or *ningal*. Instead they had to use honorific titles like *thampuratty*, *amral* etc. designating their caste-based or role = based status.

The young Kamala was very fond of the servants and the simple folk who did not enjoy social privileges. She used to keep close company with them because she thought that in a way they were superior to the sophisticated classes of people. She used to constantly observe them and catch their attention. In her memory works, Kamala Das has taken care to include all such people who frequented her house or served there in various capacities. She has very well absorbed their language peculiarities also.

Januamma, the servant character around whom many of Kamala Das's stories revolve, is in fact a combination of three of her servants -

Chirutheyamma, Kalyaniamma and Paruamma. They had been with her at various periods of her life and she remembers them in every minute detail, especially their characteristic dialects. In the course of her talk with M.N. Karassery, she reveals more about them:

There are many similarities in their speech, lifestyle and attitudes. Their rustic ways attracted me very much. I used to sit looking at their rustic beauties. So also there were fine differences between their dialects. When Kalyaniamma and Paruamma said *chekkan* meaning young boy, Chirutheyamma said *kundan* instead. That is her Kozhikkode dialect. When a Muslim girl Kayyavi says the same word, it is a different version of the word *chekkan* pronounced as *shekken*. (*Jaanuamma Paranja Kadha* 115)

The language spoken by many of the characters in Madhavikkutty's works forms the typical dialect of the erstwhile Malabar area. The educated classes show deviations from the dialect out of their familiarity with literary works and people from other areas. Kamala's grandmother whom she fondly called as Ammamma talks much differently from the servants. It is interesting to observe discussions on trivial matters occurring in the household, participated by the ladies of the household and the servants. This is how Kamala asks one of the beneficiaries of the house, Madhavi, to recite a *sloka* (four-lined poem): "Madhaviamma, please recite one or two slokas". Her ammamma replied: "Madhavi doesn't seem to remember any sloka right now." Valli, the servant belonging to a lower caste, responded thus: "Adiyan also wants to listen to Madhaviammal's sloham." The woman Madhavi is addressed by Kamala as 'Madhaviamma', by Ammamma as 'Madhavi' itself and by the lower-class servant as 'Madhavi amral'. The suffixes 'amma' and 'amral' indicate the respect shown to the addressee on account of her age and social distance. Valli's language, extremely humble in tone and vocabulary, is somewhat as given here: "Why, young lady, Your Grace is asking such questions? This humble one will be kicked out by the lady of the house (*Varshangalkumunpu* 123-24). When Kunjathu, the Christian from Kottappady talks, 'Madhaviamma' becomes 'Madhiyema'. Dialect variations based on caste, class and religion forms a very interesting object of study in the works of Kamala Das.

Sankaran and Devaki, the chief servants of the house, at the time of the beginning of her work *Varshangalkumunpu*, since they belonged to the Nair caste, assumed an air of authority over the other servants. Their supremacy, by way of being born in the Nair caste, is slightly offset by their code in which many words show marked deviations from the ones used by the people of social standing. The following is a list of some of the words used differently by members of the Nalappat family and the servants.

Ammamma's code	Servants' code
<i>ningal</i> (second person plural or honorific singular)	<i>ingal</i>
<i>njaan, ente</i> (first person singular)	<i>njaayente</i>
<i>enikke</i> (first person singular, dative case)	<i>iykke</i>
<i>ente</i> (first person singular, genitive case)	<i>inte</i>
<i>ivide</i> (here)	<i>ibade</i>
<i>bharya</i> (wife)	<i>varya</i>

In fact, any society is the product of a long social process, taking place over a long period of time. During this process, the society evolves for better living conditions for some and worse for some others. This evolution is more in the direction of progress and rarely backward. The underprivileged people of Madhavikkutty's childhood days definitely exhibit an upward mobility in every respect. Kamala is only too happy with the social changes taking place around her. She records that the onetime poor and suffering ones of her days, probably out of their desire to take revenge on their cruel masters, went out of the country and came back rich enough to buy the property and riches owned by them. The changes brought about by their affluence and education have in turn changed their language too. Since language is a part of human behaviour, language varies along with variations in human behaviour. The lower castes of Kamala's days never used to say the dignified form of 'I' (*njaan*) while talking to the higher castes, but this has changed completely and their language in the present day is free from any traces of a lower status.

It has been recognized for a long time that social class has a bearing on speech and social behaviour. Basil Bernstein who studied

the subject in-depth views language as something which influences culture and is in turn influenced by culture. According to Bernstein, a child who grows up in a certain linguistic environment and culture learns that language and culture which in turn is passed on to the next generation. It is a direct and reciprocal relationship between a particular kind of social structure, in its establishment and maintenance, and the way people in that social structure use language. Bernstein sees the relationship as a continuing one that is handed down from generation to generation.

Bernstein noticed that individuals learn their social roles through the process of communication. The best-known ideas of Bernstein have revolved around the notions of the use of restricted and elaborated codes of language used. He views the topic as follows:

Any one language can afford a speaker a number of different ways of using the language - there a number of 'fashions of speaking'. Which fashion a speaker adopts is likely to be decided mainly by this social experiences but in turn his fashion of speaking determines his social relationships to other speakers and to objects. His social behaviour is constrained within the limits set by his linguistic behaviour, which is in its turn constrained by his social experience. (Wall work 111-12)

According to Bernstein, the possessor of an elaborate code is seen to be more mobile, less tied to the immediate communication situation, more able to generalize and the like, more than the user of the restricted code. The restricted code user is limited to the meanings implicit in the immediate situation and he articulates these allusively, using many pronouns and other forms such as 'thing', 'stuff', 'do', etc. The elaborated code promotes mobility, individuality and authority whereas the restricted code blocks these kinds of socio-economic advantage. The class system has deeply marked the distribution of knowledge within the society. Bernstein's study was related to the language and social conditions of the children of working class and higher-class parents of industrial Britain and it was a period marked by deep inequalities in the distribution of wealth, which affected distribution of knowledge also. On reading the works of Madhavikkutty, it emerges that a very similar situation prevailed in the Kerala of her childhood days, i.e. the third and fourth decades of the century.

But in spite of the linguistic disadvantages that the lower working-class children suffer from, they do possess certain advantages by way of lack of inhibitions regarding their role-playing. The children of the higher classes want to know of rules before they engage in an activity. The higher classes represented in Madhavikkutty's works speak mostly short sentences and finish their talk without much stretching them for fear of saying unnecessary or wrong things. They are always conscious of their position in society and treat it as beneath their dignity to talk too many things at a stretch uninhibitedly. But the lower classes are not bound by any such fears - they speak mostly context-based matters and take pains to know every aspect of those things. They are the least bothered about linguistic perfection or accuracy. As a result, users of the restricted code are found to be quite verbal as they are not concerned about the impression they leave on others.

According to Bernstein, all speakers of a language have access to the restricted code because everybody makes use of it on certain occasions. The restricted code serves on occasions when the language of intimacy is used between familiar or close relationships. But all social classes do not have access to the elaborated code. Bernstein saw the British social class system as responsible for the linguistic limitation of the lower working class.

Bernstein's study has much relevance in the context of the social set-up presented by Madhavikkutty in many of her works. *Varshangalkumunpu*, *Neermathalam Poothakalam* and *Balyakala Smaranakal* are the major works of Madhavikkutty set against her family background and covering roughly the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. The educated parents and the other elders of the household were always careful to inculcate in young Kamala, ladylike manners and language befitting women of noble families. In all the above-mentioned works, she mentions her father, mother and other elders frequently, but their utterances are mostly brief and to the point and touches up on more serious topics compared to that of the lower classes. Kamala who learns to talk in the elaborated code, very well fits in the company of the subordinates and the lower classes that make use of the restricted code only. Kamala who keenly observes them and tries to acquire their vocabulary and manner of speaking sees it as an instrument of solidarity with them and a medium of intimacy with them. Bernstein is of the view that elaborated codes orient the users towards

universalistic meanings whereas restricted codes orient, sensitise their users towards particularistic meanings. At the same time, elaborated code which favours abstract discourse and universalistic meanings also encourages vacuousness, impersonality and alienation.

Going through Madhavikkutty's memory works, it strikes even a casual reader that her father's words are authoritative and convey universalistic meaning, but they verge on alienation and impersonality. But the servants talk in long stretches and their descriptions related to the immediate contexts are mostly verbal pictures. The following example and many others illustrate Bernstein's observations to have practical relevance in the stratified society of Kamala Das's days.

The young Kamala who craves for a silk frock tells her Ammamma: "I want a silk frock definitely."

The servant Sankaran fully identifies with the girl's sentiments and responds thus: "After all it is a small girl. I am disheartened to see this small one going to school wearing such old-fashioned loose frock not suiting it at all. Can't you see other children going to school wearing such nice frocks? Have you ever seen any girl from Ambazhathel (a neighbouring house) wearing such old-fashioned frocks? Our little girl will look nice in good frocks. This stupid tailor knows how to stitch well. He makes good frocks for other people. He thinks anything is enough for our little girl."

Ammamma tells the tailor: "Kumaran, please make it smaller in size to suit her physique."

The tailor Kumaran makes his stand clear and explains the matter thus: "Silk material is available at Kunnamkulam also. I bought a golden coloured one with stripes for Kumaran doctor's family. I took it to his house at the beach. They liked it very much and gave me the amount of money I asked for. The doctor has a daughter and sister - Remy and Devaki. I stitch skirt and blouse for both of them. [---]. Here nobody seems to be interested in silk. That is why I never bring it here. I thought the girl here uses only khaddar materials. I thought everybody here belongs to the Congress party and that all are followers of Gandhi."

Ammamma instead of explaining things like the servant or the tailor does, just throws in a brief remark: "What Congress? Such things mean nothing for small children."

Kamala's father who enters the scene gives the final verdict and ends the talk in a very detached tone, highly philosophical and impersonal: "Aye, aye, aye. Disgraceful. Whose daughter are you? Learn from your mother. You must never desire for showy things."

(*Varshangalkumunpu* 41-43)

Similar situations and conversations involving people of various categories justifying Bernstein's observations can be found in plenty in all the Malayalam works of Kamala Das.

Dialect differences among people of various castes and classes form a very noticeable aspect of Kamala Das's Malayalam works, which fits into the domain of sociolinguistic research. This paper has only briefly introduced the same. It is possible to do a much more detailed study of the same.

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Notes & Discussions

**ECOLINGUISTICS AND GLOBALISATION:
DO WE HAVE AN OPTION?**

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Introduction

This paper purports to analyse the significance of ecolinguistics in the context of globalisation. David Crystal in his work *Language Death* urges the need for a 'green linguistics', considering the possibility of many of the major languages of the world taking supremacy over minor ones. This plea is significant in the context of a metaphorical relationship perceived by many between languages and species, especially the endangered category. Languages (marginalized, minority varieties) and ecological systems once extinct are irrecoverably lost. Globalisation, as it has been seen in the transaction between the developed and the developing world, is one of the factors, which have the potential to adversely affect the prospects of language (i.e. of the powerless category) and ecology. Ecolinguistics is now an umbrella term incorporating various concepts linking language and ecology. The usual point of discussion concerning ecolinguistics centres on language and ecology and the severe criticism against it is that it fails to provide a logical relation between the two. Einar Haugen (1972) tried to connect these two in a metaphorical way. The ecology of language(s) in the Haugenian sense is a study urgently needed at a time when languages are disappearing faster and faster from decade to decade and one would wish that more linguists were to take up and embrace the cause of linguistic diversity (Fill: 44). Peter Finke (1983) makes a comparison between biological ecology and language leading to a hypothesis that,

just as the creativity of life is threatened by our current treatment of nature, the creativity of language is endangered by our present use of it (ibid). There has been a growing interest, within ecolinguistics, termed 'environmental linguistics', in the role played by language in ecological issues and the environmental problems, which affect more and more groupings and individuals. Scholars like Andrew Goatly, Michael Halliday analyse the discourse on ecological issues providing insights into anthropocentric dominance. Peter Mühlhausler (1996) pleads for the maintenance of linguistic diversity linked with the biological diversity. Matthias Jung likes to place this metaphor under the research area of the ecology of languages. Ecolinguistics thus involves theoretical, methodological and empirical studies of language and offers new perspectives on all these levels for linguists interested in ecology.

Interestingly, this yearning for linking language with environment does not go unopposed. Douglas A. Kibbee has proposed a duality of sorts in his article "Language policy and linguistic theory" (2003: 47). The 'language power coin' has on one side the free market approach, and on the other the ecological approach. Kibbee, though concerned about environmental issues, rejects the notion "that the loss of a language is equivalent to the loss of natural species". According to him, "a language is behaviour, not a physical characteristic. If two languages are in contact, then they influence each other... they create a new language" (2003: 51). This does not happen when two different species co-habit. Matthias Jung says, "ontologically language has an entirely different status from a species and is furthermore tied to the existence of a language community...Language is not a natural product, but a social convention, which does not 'live' like an organism..." (2001:272). Mufwene prefers to compare a language to a parasitic species because a language does not exist without speakers, just like parasites do not exist without hosts (2001: 152). However this does not weaken the argument justifying language = species metaphor, especially considering the depleting language resources of the world. Projections do speak about the precarious position of minor languages. What I propose to discuss here is the effect of globalisation in the inherent diversity in language and ecology, which in many ways are strikingly parallel, because the processes that operate and affect them, in terms of their existence, are 'irreversible'.

Globalisation: A plain speak

Globalisation refers to the shift toward a more integrated world economy. It refers to a process that ensures unfettered cross-national flows of capital, technology and commodities. It means cutting across all conventional transnational borders and heading towards evolving a universal business culture. The term "globalization", which first appeared in Webster's dictionary in 1961, refers to the increasing interconnectedness of nations and peoples around the world through trade, investment, travel, popular culture, and other forms of interaction (*italics for emphasis*). The MNCs have global reach and are beyond the control of individual governments. Governments once controlled the flow of currencies, held corporations to stern labour laws, and limited imports through tariffs and quotas. Owing to deregulation, the government has now become weakened so as to enable markets to function more freely. Vandana Shiva criticizes such an 'all-consuming' concept of globalisation. She says this will diminish the role of the state and it might even harm the interest of the people. "The role of the state has been inverted. Its new role has become that of provider of natural resources, of basic and essential services, concessions, infrastructure and patent protection for TNCs, and to protect them from people's demands for labour rights, health, environmental and human rights" (1995: 109). But there are writers like Bjorn Lomborg, who criticize environmentalists for spreading fears of complete disaster. He says, "threat of biodiversity loss is real, but exaggerated" (2002: 235).

Globalisation can affect diversity because it attempts to bring in homogeneity. At best one may expect 'hybridization' or 'glocalisation' to occur for ensuring continued existence of species/language. Biodiversity is a crucial area in environmental management. Studies in the causes of biodiversity loss point at factors like habitat destruction, over harvesting, species/genetic introduction, pollution and climatic change. These are mostly man made, intensified with rapid globalisation. The debate at the Kyoto conference in 1997 showcased the deep gulf that prevails between the developed and the developing nations on the issue of greenhouse gas emission. Linking ecology with language, there has been an interesting observation proposed by Daniel

Nettle, a linguistic anthropologist, that the more the rainfall in a geographic space, the more the number of languages. This was based on the study of West African societies. But he says this situation may not last longer. The big languages have become much more attractive because what they offer now is access to the whole industrial economy.

Languages: Bloom or doom?

A language dies when nobody speaks it anymore. The phenomenon, though real, was not considered seriously. Still there are no universally agreed total regarding the number of languages in the world. Bernard Comrie puts the estimate around 4000 (1987: 2). An updated table in *Ethnologue* (February 1999) recognizes 6784 languages, with data available for 6059. Still further is the difficulty to ascertain the total number of extinct languages. Jean Aitchison says, "...of the 6000 languages existing, half may be moribund, a further 2400 are in danger zone i.e., fewer than 100,000 speakers, this leaves only 600, 10% of the current total in safe category" (2001: 235) It has been estimated that 4% of the world languages are spoken by 96% of the population (Crystal, 2000: 14). Looking it from the other angle one can assess the precarious situation: 96% of the world's languages are spoken by just 4% of the population. (Another study points out that 83 most widely spoken languages account for about 80 percent of the world's population while 3,500 smallest languages account for just 0.2 percent of the world's people.) The popular five level classification used by Stephen Wurm focus on weaker languages (ibid: 21).

1. *Potentially endangered* languages: are socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers;
2. *Endangered languages*: have few or no children learning the language, and the youngest good speakers are young adults;
3. *Seriously endangered languages*: have the youngest good speakers age 50 or older;
4. *Moribund languages*: have only a handful of good speakers left, mostly very old;

5. *Extinct languages*: have no speakers left (ibid). James Bauman recognizes it as flourishing, enduring, declining, obsolescent and extinct (ibid).

Kate Hale estimates that all languages that do not have 100,000 speakers are condemned to die (Hale 1998: 142). Karttunen and Crosby have established that half of the languages of the world have fewer than 6000 speakers (1995: 162), including almost all Amerindian languages and languages of Oceania. According to a report by Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages, only one person now speaks *Siletz Dee-ni* (North America); only five elders speak *Yuchi* (South Western U.S.); only less than 30 people speak *Tofa* (Central East Siberian); only around 100 people speak *Kallawaya* (South America); and only three speak *Magati Ke* and *Yawuru* languages (Northern Australian). David Bradley and Maya Bradley state four reasons for disappearance viz., linguistic, ethical, scientific and symbolic while discussing about Endangered Languages (ELs) (2002: 2).

Homogenization expediting expiry?

Kibbee finds the argument that only one language would remain in the world as "inconceivable" (2003: 53). He finds fault with ecolinguistics who argue that the loss of languages will eliminate linguistic variation, which can be equated with genetic variation. However there is no denying to the fact that diversity is the fundamental principle of the earth as exemplified in the story of Tower of Babel. This concept of diversity should be analysed along with the idea of globalisation. The forces of globalisation target at homogenization, thereby scuttling chances for diversity. The policies of the government are vital but, since educational policy goes in tandem with economic and cultural policies, some languages are bound to be preferred over the other. Languages are not always respecters of political, geographical boundaries; hence with the emergence of new types of media viz., the Internet, radio and television satellites, one is forced to consider the 'virtual space' (Maurais, 2003: 17). The current situation thus can only lead the world to witness the domination of a few languages over many. This thinking will promote a dissociation of the concept of healthy co-existence of language, culture and ecology. What is required is a 'holistic concept' as put forward by David Crystal

(2000:33). "The whole concept of the ecosystem is based on the insight that living entities exist through a network of interrelationships...the cultural as well as the biological domains are brought into a mutually reinforcing relationship: the distinctive feature of human ecology is accordingly the attempt to link the structure and organization of a human community to interactions with its localized environment" (ibid: 33). He warns, "Increasing uniformity holds dangers for the long-term survival of a species" (ibid). In this circumstance, the need to maintain linguistic diversity is essential. "Any reduction of language diversity diminishes the adaptational strength of our species because it lowers the pool of knowledge from which we can draw" (Bernard, 1992: 82).

Peter Mühlhausler (1994) in 'Babel Revisited' calls attention to the growing awareness of emphasizing linguistic as well as biological diversity. He says, "linguistic diversity should not be seen as a problem but as an essential resource". He finds a parallel between linguistic and biological diversity. "First, all present-day diversity is the outcome of processes that took a very long time: millions of years in the case of biodiversity, at least 100,000 years in the case of linguistic diversity. And once genuine diversity is lost, it cannot be easily restored, in spite of progress in bioengineering and linguistic engineering. A second, equally important similarity is that linguistic diversity and diversity in the natural world are both functional. The 10,000 or so languages that exist today reflect necessary adaptations to different social and natural conditions. They are the result of increasing specialisation and finely tuned adaptation to the changing world" (2001: 160). The perception that one language or a few languages would prevail, over all the other languages, will greatly impoverish human knowledge. Different languages perceive reality in a number of ways. These contribute to the lexical resources by which subtle distinctions are possible to be expressed. But a forceful unification of standards can only lead to explanations of these in broad general terms. Mühlhausler points out that the number of edible plants the average Westerner can name contrasts very unfavourably with the many hundreds of names known to the average speaker of a South American Indian language. John Edwards (2001) is critical about the approach of Mühlhausler. He believes that this approach is not substantial. He finds a kind of 'West-bashing' in such assumptions. Edwards welcomes the present trend of seeking affluence through economic growth and the increase in

mobility. But he looks for a different paradigm of analysis to resolve this complicated issue and he feels that the present 'new ecology' is constructed on doubtful foundations.

Still, if it is naive to consider such a metaphorical parallel between language and ecology, it is equally naive to believe that only a few 'progressive' globalised languages are necessary in this world. With the emergence of English as a global language a debate has begun: should it be viewed as an opportunity or is it a case of linguistic imperialism? David Crystal cautions that the problem is not with English language but with process of globalisation. "Solutions are more likely to come from the domain of economic policy, not language policy" (1997: 25). The popularization of English among the non-English speaking countries is one such phenomenon. The key arguments that support English are global connectivity, international access, employment opportunity, 'link' language in heterogeneous societies and the like. The 'colonial' tag that was once attached is slowly withering away. Still, critics do advocate caution against such enthusiasm. "The globalisation of English and the spread of other national languages are not so different from the spread of new genetically modified plant varieties controlled by multinational companies...so if anything the language experiment now underway will lead to even greater homogeneity than the experiment with our food; and to even greater centralization and control of knowledge than the commercial monopolies created by the sterile strains of genetically modified plants" (Bradley & Bradley, 2002: 3).

Many environmental discourses illuminate the dangers of monolingualism and monoculturalism. A policy statement issued by the linguistic society of America in 1994 states: "The loss to human kind of genetic diversity in the linguistic world is...arguably greater than even the loss of genetic diversity in the biological world, given that the structures of human language represents a considerable testimony to human intellectual achievement" (Crystal, 2000: 34). And Russian writer Vjaceslav Ivanov sums it up in this way: "Each language constitutes a certain model of the universe, a semiotic system of understanding the world, and if we have 4000 different ways to describe the world, this makes us rich. We should be concerned about preserving language just as we are about ecology" (ibid: 36).

McDonaldisation/cocacolonizzare?

Ritzer believes that the lives around the world are becoming progressively more Americanised, over-rationalised and ultimately dehumanized, using the term 'McDonaldisation' to name "the process by which the principles of the fast food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world" (1996: 1). David Black prefers to call it 'McCommunication'. Third world countries (sometimes addressed South) view globalisation as a transnational expansion: the spread of American business practices, American cultural assumption and American knowledge to other parts of the world. They see it as an attempt to make the world safe for American values and American capital. Their discourses, when analysed closely are replete with the prejudice of the North to the South. According to an ex-US Agricultural Secretary, "the idea that developing countries should feed themselves is an anachronism from a bygone era. They could better ensure their food security by relying on US agricultural products which are available, in most cases, at a lower costs" (Shiva, 1993: 234). Similarly in a letter to *Time* magazine, Senator Rudy Boschwitz, a spokesman of the Reagan farm policy, stated quite clearly that US farm policy was aimed at putting Third World exporters out of business. He wrote: "if we do not lower our farm prices to discourage these countries now, our world wide competitive position will continue to slide and be much more difficult to regain. This discouragement should be one of the foremost goals of our agricultural policy" (ibid: 234). Those who are maintaining a sensitive mind do severely criticize this. "High technology agriculture and forestry in the third world which is ecologically destructive also strengthens the control of elites...the losers will be (and in many places already are) those, human and nonhuman, without market power, and issues of human justice and issues of the destruction of nature must increasingly converge" (Plumwood, 1994: 64). This trend of domination can be discerned in the status of various languages. Domination can be cultural, demographic or political. One culture can dominate over the other, by influencing the latter in such a way that its members adopt new life style. There are instances when students of a new dominant language will be forced to imbibe and express that language, which has incommensurable worldviews, compared their native tongue. It is something like demanding Japanese students to

write Japanese in accordance with western norms of 'logic'. In colonial times as it was in Australia and North America, the natives were subjugated and marginalized in their own territory by which the immigrants enforce their language as the superior one. Politically, especially in cases of military superiority or for economic reasons, the dominant languages will become the emblem of dominance.

However with the advent of globalisation the language of the dominant culture will influence the majority and the minority alike. Consumer needs, media, employment opportunities, fear of insularity, social and political decision making all contrive for the reinforcement of the use of dominant language and the emerging new generation become easy victims of inferiorization. Deborah Cameron states, "The new rhetoric of global communication differs older discourses of linguistic imperialism, but there are also continuities. The dissemination of global communicative norms involves a one-way flow of expert knowledge from dominant to subaltern" (2002: 70). In such circumstance the subaltern population who are already marginalized, find themselves cut off from the world they exist. As many environmentalists have noted it, the tribal populations do not fully comprehend their counterparts from cities, who might in a way conspire with the MNCs for their total annihilation. They cannot respond to such an alien tongue, an alien mind, or an alien culture. There is a tendency to treat languages as economic commodities. In Japan 'foreign language' just means only English language. Further, there has been a sharp decline in the use of 'dominated' languages. The dominant language will force the dominated languages to get assimilated or to get annihilated. The dominated languages that are more 'inward looking' remain at the domestic and social levels. It cannot communicate internationally but has got an indigenous independent identity. Because of official marginalisation, people find it necessary to learn the dominant language. They need to use it in official documents, public services, banks, media and higher education. As David Crystal states, "none of the 1200 or so languages indigenous to Africa is currently used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools" (2000: 83). Thus from a political point of view, the dominated language is becoming invisible. The negative attitude of the local population makes them see their own language as a sign of backwardness. Resistance against the dominant language can be

exemplified by the situation in North America. NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Area) is designed to promote economic growth and investment as well as political co-operation among member states, Canada, Mexico and the USA. Many Mexicans view this agreement as a free license to the spread of English in Mexico. Michael A. Morris has indicated "the Zapatista National Liberation Army intentionally initiated an armed conflict in the Southern Mexican State of Chiapas on New Year's Day 1994, the very day that NAFTA came into effect...Marginalisation of Native Mexican languages is part of the threat to the cultural survival of indigenous communities" (Morris, 2003: 152). Just as the biotech labs of MNCs patent and promote their seeds and agro-fertilizers, communication technology of developed nations might begin to patronize and promote their 'privileged' languages in the third world countries.

Projections and options

Just as the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) in 1992 enumerates the policies for protection of ecosystem and biological resources, there is a need to evolve measures for conservation of linguistic resources. That should include:

- a. Action to respect and protect indigenous, local languages
- b. Promoting recovery of threatened and Endangered Languages (ELs)
- c. Developing new information system and database of local languages and to equip them to make it adaptable, user-friendly and competitive in a globalised scenario.
- d. Training more people to use ELs.

Little time is available for corrective action and in some cases we may already be close to transgressing critical thresholds. Globalisation has necessitated a change from coexistence to competitiveness. David Graddol has projected the present as well as the future hierarchy of languages. In the present hierarchy of languages, English and French are the 'big languages', which top the list whereas in 2050 Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, English, Spanish, Arabic are categorized in the top of the list. There is a great fall in the total number of languages according to

his projection. Compared to the present 6680 languages under the various national, state and vernacular categories, fifty years from now, only 1090 odd languages are predicted to be possibly surviving, the major casualties coming under local languages (Maurais, 2003: 17). The future of languages rests mainly on the global political relations. Languages of the minority communities may not survive unless they are given provincial importance. Information technology can also influence the longevity of languages depending on its adaptability to new technologies and new social realities. Similarly economic and environmental factors are also critical. As a leading American field linguist Ken Hale says, "The loss of local languages, and of the cultural systems that they express, has meant irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth, the priceless products of human mental industry" (1992: 36). Suggestions on 'what can be done' have come from various quarters. Let me summarize some of them. David Crystal (2000: 130-142) identifies six factors, which will enable an endangered language to progress, provided its speakers:

1. increase their prestige within the dominant community
2. increase their wealth relative to the dominant community
3. increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community
4. have a strong presence in the educational system
5. can write their language down
6. can make use of electronic technology

Crystal also refers to the proposals of Akira Yamamoto and Lynn Landweer (ibid: 144) who have much in common over dominated languages. Of course, it will be quite naive to believe these complex issues, with ethical, cultural, political and ecological connotations will be solved as if by a miracle, by government interference. Much depends on a collective strategy recognizing the inherent diversity of our ecosystem and by perceiving the ill effects of all embracing globalisation. Or else there will be "a strange stillness...a spring without voices" (Carson, 1962: 2).

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Notes & Discussions

KINSHIP TERMS AND FAMILIAL STRUCTURE
IN PUṚANĀNŪṚU

T. MADHAVA MENON

1. The following is a list, collected from the *Puṇanānūru* that may have implications for kinship (from Subramoniam, V.I.: 1962¹).

List of terms with implications for Kinship in Purananuru

Term	Relationship Category	Purams
<i>aimār</i>	brothers	342, 345, 353
<i>aiyar</i>	brothers	337, 350
<i>antai</i>	father	202, 290
<i>ciṛuvan</i>	son (diminutive)	100, 286
<i>cutrattu</i>	relation (unspecified)	23, 212
<i>kaṇavan</i>	husband	3, 34, 138, 246, 314, 320
<i>kātali</i>	wife (loving)	210, 234
<i>kaṭumpu</i>	relation (unspecified)	22,32, 33, 224, 380
<i>kēḷir</i>	Relations (unspecified)	42,71,74.192
<i>kēḷvan</i>	husband	294
<i>kīlai</i>	relation (unspecified)	144

1. Subramoniam, V.I., **Index of Purananuru**, Dept. of Tamil, University of Kerala, Trivandrum 1962.

<i>kilaimatalor</i>	Elderly female relatives	163
<i>kilamaiyor</i>	brothers	165
<i>kozhunan</i>	Husband	247, 248, 279
<i>kuti</i>	family	43, 45, 71, 120, 164, 333
<i>makal</i>	woman/daughter	33, 128, 215, etc.
<i>makean</i>	man	11, 33, 86, 310, etc.
<i>makar</i>	young ones	291
<i>makattu</i>	Children	164
<i>makatu</i>	wife	261, 339
<i>makavu</i>	child (young one)	117
<i>makkal</i>	children	126, 188, 191
<i>makkal</i>	children	126, 188, 191
<i>manaivi</i>	wife	191, 250, 326
<i>manaiyōl</i>	wife	210, 320, 334, etc.
<i>mankaiyar</i>	wives (young women)	6, 11
<i>marukan</i>	descendent in lineage	46
<i>maṭantai</i>	young woman, wife	245, 383, 395, etc.
<i>okkalai</i>	relation (unspecified)	69
<i>putalvan</i>	son	9, 41, 250, etc.
<i>tampi</i>	brother	43, 300, 304
<i>antai</i>	father	several
<i>tāyi</i>	mother	several
<i>tiṇai</i>	family	24, 27, 159
<i>tunaiyiyār</i>	wives	166
<i>vazhi</i>	Family (<i>kilai</i>)	392
<i>vazhimurai</i>	generation	365
<i>yāy</i>	mother	83, 159

Generational depth is only three: ego's, immediately ascending and immediately descending. There are no terms for grandfather, grandmother and grandchild. The terms denoting kinship do not specify category. Apart from synonyms for wife, there are no terms denoting affinal categories; e.g., wife's parents, wife's brother, etc. There are synonyms for children and for "family" (unspecified relationship). Term *kāḷir* seems to include extended groups including clans; e.g., in Puram 74, Ceraman Kanakkal Irumporai refers to Cozhan Cenkanan as "*kēḷal kēḷir*" (= unrelated relatives). (Cf., also the famous: '*yāvarum kēḷir*' in Puram 192). If the relationship referred to be consanguineous, then it must have been traced to a distant ancestor. If it was affinal, then the nature of the relationship is not clear. Descent in the same lineage, presumably consanguineous, is denoted by term *marukan*. Elderly female relatives are termed as '*kīḷaimutalōr*' (Puram 163). Another term for relatives, used by a woman to refer to her husband, is *kīḷaiññar* (Puram 144). The term *kīḷai* therefore signified affinal relations.

2. I attempt a table to show the structure (paradigm) of the available kinship terms, following, with minor changes, Trautmann (1981:232):

Table II - Paradigm of Kinship Terms in Purananuru for Male Ego

Generation	Category	Consanguine	Affine
G + 2	Grand parents (both sexes)	Not available	
	Father	<i>Antai</i> ⁽¹⁾	Not available
	Mother	<i>Yāy</i> ⁽²⁾	Not available
G + 1	Father's brother	Not available	
	Father's sister	Not available	
	Mother's brother	Not available	
	Mother's sister	Not available	
	ego	<i>yān</i>	
	wife		<i>manaiyōḷ</i> ⁽³⁾
	(husband)		<i>kaṇavan</i> ⁽⁴⁾

G ⁰	brothers	<i>Aimār</i> ⁽⁵⁾	Not available
	Sister ⁽⁶⁾	Not available	Not available
	Son	<i>Putalvan</i> ⁽⁷⁾	Not available
G-1	Daughter	<i>Makal</i> (Dimunitive terms)	Not available
G-2	Grandchild (either sex)	Not available	

- (1) *antai* (father) takes on pronominal prefixes, e.g. *entai* (my father), *nantai* (our father), *untai* (your father), *tantai* (his father), etc. There are no specific terms for father’s brother, father’s sister, etc., or wife’s father, wife’s mother, wife’s brother, wife’s sister, etc.
- (2) *yāy* (mother) might also have taken such forms, but is generally realized as *tāyi*. There are no terms for mother’s brother, mother’s sister, etc.
- (3) There are several synonyms for "wife".
- (4) There are several synonyms for "husband".
- (5) The terms *aimār* and *aiyar* seem to denote ‘direct’ consanguine brothers. *ḱḷamaiyōr* might have been used for "classificatory" brothers; precise category not clear. *ḱḷai* seems to be the generic term for affinal relatives. There are no specific terms to describe affinal relations like ‘wife’s father, wife’s mother, wife’s siblings”, etc. *kēḷir* seems to have referred to a larger circle of related persons.
- (6) There is no specific term for "sister". The diminutive term for "women", *makal*, seems to have been used for sisters as well as daughters. But there are no terms to describe affinal relations of a sister: sister’s husband, sister’s husband’s sister, etc. or for son’s/daughter’s affinal relations. There are no terms for brothers’ affinal relations.
- (7) A common term, *maḱan*, is used, but it is a generic term for young men.

- (8) For generations above that of the parents, a generic term, *mūtōr*, with several synonyms is used. The term, *vazhimurai*, denotes generational succession in the lineage; *marukan* was used for those presumably below the Ego in the succession. Wife was referred to as *makatu*, and children as *makattu*. *makan* and *makal* were used for "man" and "woman", presumably before they came to signify "son" and "daughter".

3. Family & Kinship

3.1. Families were nuclear. Life after marriage was neo-local; ancestral houses might have been used, if others had not grabbed them (cf., Auvvayar: "*nākattanna pakar maṇṭilam/ tamavēyāyinum tammotu cellā/ vetrōrāyinu nōtrōrkkozhiyum*// = even if your land is rich like heaven and your own, it does not come with you when you die; it goes to him who wins it Puram 367). Puram 198 contains a solitary mention blessing a king to be long-lived enough to look on his grand-children (*putalvar* = descendants) - probably expectation of life was so short that it was rare for a person to live long enough to see his grandchildren. The father could have many wives living with him. Puram 312 declares division of responsibilities. It is the mother's duty to bear sons, and raise them up; father had to train them up to be noble men; black-smith provided them with weapons, and king trained him up; and so the son was equipped to fight, kill and return crowned with glory. Girls were the responsibility of the mothers until they were considered grown up to be married; then, the father and the brothers had the role in getting them married.

3.1.1. Children were fostered with love and care (e.g., Purams 324, 327, etc.). Puram 188 is a charming description of the joys of parenting.

3.2. Lineage and inheritance were through the father. There is no mention of any case where a person, king or commoner, Velir or Tutiyan, came into matrilineal identity or property. *Kaverpentu's Song* (Puram 86) indicates that mothers lost sight of their children if the fathers were not living in the family. The generational depth within the family hardly extended beyond the father and the sons. Lineages were traced through the fathers to great antiquity, as in the case of the legendary Sempayan (Sibi) of the Cozha-s. Kapilar mentions (Puram 201) that Irunko Vel was scion of "49 generations" of Velir lords.

Parameswaran Pilla lists the following Velir lineages in his commentary on Puram 76: Titiyan, Ezhini, Erumaiyur, Irunko Venman (Vel) and Porunan. These are patrilineal genealogies.

3.3. *Paucity of Kinship terms*: There does not seem to have been a term of reference or address even for grandfather; in Puram 290, Auvvayar introduces a soldier whose father's father had saved the king's father's father in battle: "*untaitantaik-kivantrantai tantai...*" *untaitantai* = your father's father; *ivantrantai tantai* = his father's father, i.e., descriptive rather than classificatory terms are used. The version *untai* = your father indicates that kinship reference terms took pronominal prefixes, e.g., *entai* = my father; *untai* = your father; *tantai* = his father, etc., a feature seen in some Dravidian languages like Kurukh. Address and reference term for mother seems to have been *tāyi*, though *yāy* is also seen; a pronominal prefix does not seem to have been used. Son is *makan*; daughter, *makaḷ*. I could not locate a classificatory term for grandchildren; even in Puram 198, they are described as "*ivar perum putalvar...*" = the issue they give birth to. Ancestors are described as *munṇōr*, and successors, even including sons, as *iḷaiyōr*.

3.3.1. For "wife", "*manaiviyōḷ*" (syn. *manaivi*) is seen, but terms like *makaḷṛ* = women; *maṭantai* = young woman are also used, and rarely, *kāṭali* = beloved. No specific term was used for husband, (in exceptional cases, e.g., Puram 234, as *kāṭalan* = beloved), etc. Categories like mother's brother, father's sister, etc., are not designated by special terms, thus denying the presumption of preferential cross cousin marriages. Mother's brother is key link in "Dravidian Kinship"; his daughter is the preferred, and often the prescribed wife of the ego. The term *māman* and its feminine gender equivalent *māmi* is not seen in *Purananuru*, though it is attested in most Dravidian languages, denoting mother's brother as well as wife's father (cf., Burrow & Emeneau: DED 1961: entry no. 3945). Their children do not seem to have been addressed as "brother" or "sister", or niece, by "Ego", in *Purananuru*.

3.4. *Gender Roles*: Children were not segregated sex-wise. Boys played with toy bows and arrows, hunting rats, and being generally boisterous. Girls preferred to pluck flowers, make skirts with them, and play dolls made of clay. There is no evidence of difference in the love and tenderness with which children were brought up.

3.4.1. *Sex-play among the very young*: Bard Toṭittalai Vizhutaṇṭinār reminiscences (Puram 243) how he held hands with the girls, and stroked them as their hands stroked him (*kaipinaintu tazhuvuvazhittazhavi*); moved with them, bodies close, in time with their movements (*tūnkuvazhittūnki*). Puram 339 describes how people wondered whether a girl, running about plucking flowers, charming *mons veneris* adorned with a girdle and hardly hidden by the leaf-skirt she wore, should be allowed to grow a little more before she became ready for marriage. No mention is made of menarche as marker between childhood and adulthood. When a girl's breasts became prominent, her days of freedom ended, and she would be sequestered in her father's strongest fortress. Females were categorised according to age as: *pētai* (up to 13 years of age), *petumpai* (13 to 16), *mankai* (16 to 19), *maṭantai* (19 to 25), *arivai* (25 to 30), *terivai* (30 to 40) and *pēriḷam peṇ* (above 40) (Parameswaran Pilla, note under Puram 120).

3.5. *The Institution of Marriage*: Marriage was the normal condition. Among Maravar, the only two available methods for acquiring a bride, according to Puram 344, were purchase, or capture. A whole set of compositions, *turai makatpār kānci*, describe chieftains in pursuit of girls whom their parents and brothers would not surrender without a fight. Puram 339 hints that even the girls preferred to be fought over. Such battles were of attrition, resulting in senseless killing and devastation.

3.5.1. The collection does not specifically mention the systems prevalent in communities other than those of the warrior class. It can only be presumed that they did not opt for the massacre and waste of marriage by capture.

3.5.2. No mention at all is made of "child marriage". Usually, girls were married only after they had become *maṭantai* (19 to 25 years of age). Wives are often referred to by this term.

3.5.3. *Kārpū*: Married life is portrayed as harmonious, the many wives of a hero living peaceably together. Fidelity after marriage (*kārpū*) was valued and taken almost for granted. But in Puram (395), Bard Maturai Nakkīrar praises Hero, Peruncāttan for having talked softly to him, given him valuable gifts, and called his wife, telling her to treat him (guest) as she would treat him (her own husband): "*pon pōn*

maṭantaiyaik-kāṭṭi yivanai//en pōr pōttrentrōnē.... [pointing me to his gold-like young wife (*maṭantai*) he told her: "treat him as you would treat me"]. The imagery the Bard has employed include a hen calling seductively to a cock of the forest. Perhaps this may indicate that wife-sharing with an honoured guest was not against the mores.

3.5.4. *The Story of Kaṇṇaki and Pēkan*: Divorce is not mentioned, but desertion of the wife by the husband is. Pēkan was a great gift-giver, married to Kannaki. But, in her own words (Puram 144), "So they say: the famous Pēkan, enamoured of the beauty of another like me, comes every day in his resounding chariot to Nallur with its jasmine fence". The affair was open; Pēkan went unmindful of scandal, rattling along in his chariot, not bothering to keep it clandestine. The scandal spread throughout Tamizhakam and all the greatest Bards, Kapilar, Parānar, Van Parānar, Aricil Kizhar and Perunkunrur Kizhar (Purams 143, 144, 145, 146, 147 respectively) hastened to plead with Pēkan to take her back.

3.6. *Widows*: Life was miserable for widows. She could not expect proper food but had to subsist on whatever she could get (Puram 248). She did not inherit her late husband's estate, but had to offer oblations at the *natukal* (memorial stone) erected for him (Puram 249). She had to cut off her hair, and cast away her ornaments (Puram 250). Puram-s 254 and 255 indicate that wives were the first to rush to the battleground to pick up the bodies of their dead husbands, and convey the news to the rest of the family. In Puram 280, a brave woman contemplates the imminent death of husband, and tells sycophantic bards it would be no longer possible to support them; as for herself, she would find it impossible to live on with shaven head, eating lotus seeds; she would prefer to immolate herself with his body.

3.6.1. *Self Immolation*: The practice of self-immolation by widows extended back to megalithic times; Puram 256 portrays a woman begging of the potter to make the urn for her killed husband big enough to accommodate her too. The proud self-abandonment of Perumkōpentru, the still-young widow of Pūta Pāṇṭiyan, is described in Puram-s 246 and 247; she rejects the advice of the assembled elders, and enters the funeral pyre. Such women were worshipped and commemorated along with their husbands in the *natukal*.

3.6.2. *Husband bewailing dead wife*: The converse case of husbands bewailing dead wives is rare. Puram 245 describes Cēramān Mākkōtai bewailing death of wife Perumkōpentru, crying out why he should not lie with her on her pyre of shining fire.

3.7. *Hostility between relatives*: The sons of the great Ko Perum Cozhan rose in revolt against him, and he himself was so annoyed that he thought of fighting them to death. He was dissuaded by the pleading of Bards like Pullattur Eyittiyanar (Puram 213). This swayed the king to the other extreme, of renunciation of his kingdom, and suicide by the ritual of *vatakkiruttal*. There was no love lost between Vērpahṛaṭakkaiperuviṛār Narkilli and his father Tittan (Purams 180, 352, 395). Brothers had no compunction against fighting one another - Nallankilli fought his brother to extermination; Kumanan's brother deposed him and declared a price on his head!

[Note: As advised by Prof. V.I. Subramoniam, I.S.D.L. is attempting to translate Sangam period works into English. T. Madhava Menon has completed the translation of *Purananuru* into English Prose and is preparing Introduction and Notes. He found a paucity of Kinship terms, reflecting rather loose structure of kinship bonds. There was no evidence of preferential or prescribed cross-cousin marriage, a diagnostic feature of "Dravidian Kinship". Marriages were either by capture or by purchase. In this note, he presents a paradigm of the terms, and seeks to draw some inferences on the structure of Family and Kinship. *Purananuru* describes conditions only for a section, warriors. We shall welcome comments.]

Editor

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Notes & Discussions

**UNIVERSAL RITES OF MARRIAGE
ACROSS CULTURES**

B. SREEDEVI
University of Calicut

Abstract

Universals in language or linguistic universals were concerns of theoreticians. Sociological universals did not receive so much of importance as in the case of other areas. Marriage is one of the oldest institutions of civilized society. The very essential components of marriage, as everybody knows, are the bride and the groom, usually accompanied by the two families, their relatives and friends and the local inhabitants. It is a moment of rejoicing for all. There will be pomp and fanfare, sumptuous feast declaring the financial status of the parents, mainly of the bride. In the case of dress and ornaments also there is again a common factor i.e. the choice of the best dress - in terms of price, stitching, designing, colour, fashion, trend, tradition - the most expensive one in one's wardrobe, the most beautiful one to give the bride a pretty look.

In the case of wedding attire religion and culture matter. The traditional is being made trendy for this purpose. For e.g. The Hindu, Muslim and Christian religious communities have different types of dress during the wedding ceremony. There seems to be a wider choice in the place of marriage, depending on the fiscal strength of the parties. One can select exotic places as wedding spot - right from under the sea up to the sky with lots of intermediary spots in between. In coal-mines, upon the Giant-Wheel, in the garden, on top of the mountain, in front of the Great Wall- all beautiful and enchanting places, to ring the nuptial bells. This paper is an enquiry into such details.

Source: *Malayala Manorama* (Newspaper) - Sunday Supplement (60 episodes)

All ethnic groups - from the tribes to the most sophisticated - enter into the social contract of marriage which has got a common core and overall pattern (terms borrowed from dialectology). Common core begins with the perception that a lady is to be brought into a man's life and family to set up a new family. As a corollary to this, each family would like to send their daughter to another family where they expect a happy future for her in the process of formation of a new family. In India we are familiar with the word *kanyaadaan* i.e. giving away one's daughter to a man. In Homer's Greece (Iliad and Odyssey) Pandora is the first woman and the first bride. From this word is derived *didomi* meaning 'to give' i.e. *kanyaadaan*. In almost all communities the bride is taken to the groom's house, on the very day of marriage itself.

Meeting of the girl and the boy, acceptance by their parents and engagement leading to marriage is the common core of the system of wedlock. Once it is decided, both parties, particularly the girl's family start preparing for the marriage function. The venue for the wedding ceremony is an important factor followed by selecting menu for the feast. Traditionally in most of the cases the bride's residence or a holy place (temple/church) formed the venue for marriage, where priest will be there chanting *mantras*, performing the rites to invoke the Godly spirits and directing the whole ceremony. The couple seeks the blessings of the elders and in the midst of rejoicing the marital knot takes place. Flowers will be showered upon the couple. Friends and relatives give gifts to the couple and bless them. Dance and music are part of the show. Music is rather an essential component to entertain the audience. It is a meeting place for many who spend time chatting and eating in company, enjoying Nature. This is an over all picture of the wedding event.

For instance let us have a look at the tribal wedding - *kuruma* wedding. *Mullakuruma* is a tribe in Wayanad. Each colony will have a '*Daivappura*' (God's abode) . It is here the wedding ceremony takes place. *taalikettu* and ring exchange are the chief rites. Both bride and the groom wear traditional dress. Polynesians who follow Tahitian culture do not have the green signal of law for marriage. It is an adjustment - a very simple ceremony like a union in front of a priest in the dim light of twilight. (Reminds of *arabikkalyaanam*) Sometimes it may be accompanied by dance and music.

On the other extreme, one can celebrate wedding right in the middle of the world - The Central Park in New York - perhaps the most

stylish place in the world. There are a number of beautiful stages from which one can choose for a wedding. There is a very big garden, well-maintained, with innumerable varieties of flowers and bushes. This big garden is divided into three - French Garden, Italian Garden and English Garden - all full of flowers during spring. One can arrange incomparable wedding stages not only in the Garden but also on the Old Iron Bridge which is a legacy of the past. Built in 1862, the curves and the decoration make it a wonderful place. Standing on the bridge one can see the boats moving in the lake down and the clouds moving up in the sky. There is lot of space for entertainment and shopping which the couple can enjoy. The big lake in the Garden is a created one and occupies second place in the world. There is also boat house and provision for arranging parties.

Bhil is a Dravidian word. It means 'bow'. It is the weapon of the Bhil tribe. They are scattered in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Searching for a girl, examining the horoscope, dowry, engagement etc- a Bhil marriage ceremony includes about fifty components- half of them will be at the bride's residence and the other half at the groom's. The bride and the groom take seven rounds around the raised ceremonial platform of wedding. In this, the groom takes lead in four rounds and the bride in three rounds. The Bhil marriage system represents an overall pattern of Indian marriage across the country.

In other parts of the world also, the essential components of marriage ceremony is similar where tradition and religion reign the field. The party chooses a holy place like church/temple, a priest to direct the marriage ceremony, a gathering of relatives and friends, good food and enjoyment form the common core of this overall pattern. When different groups mingle with each other, there is possibility of mixing the culture also. For instance, Costa Rica can be considered as a bridge linking North America, South America, and they show a mixed nature of marital rituals. In the overall pattern of the scene, there seems to emerge a wider choice in the venue for marriage function. Way Side Inn, the world famous Inn of America, is made more famous by Long Fellow through his poem. *Tales of a Way Side Inn*. This Inn with the fame of tradition was bought by Henry Ford in 1923. He gave it a rural appearance and converted into a place for marriage.

It is seen that the choice of wedding spots is being linked with tourist spots - a shift in paradigm from the holy to a place of enjoyment

and comfort. Places of common interest such as parks, gardens, museums, and other places of natural beauty where the party looks for comfortable stay, convenient meeting places, shopping facilities, availability of tasty varieties of food (restaurants, hotels etc.), sporting facilities, peaceful and beautiful places where man can experience Nature, and indulge in dreamy pleasures. This taste of man is reflected in the nomenclature of wedding spots in Grand Bahamas (Islands in West Indies), viz. Deep-water Kay Club, Garden of the Grooves, Island Sea Resort, Ocean Pearl Resort and Club, Beach Resort etc. One major attraction here is the travel through the under water caves, which is the second largest in the world. For those who cling onto something 'Royal' which is at the epitome of tradition, the option is the Royal Pavilion or Brytan [braitan] Pavilion in Britain. Built in 19th century on the seaside, it was the palace of the prince which was later converted into a public place. The wedding stage is the Red Drawing Room in the Royal Pavilion.

It is quite interesting to know the tastes of people in choosing places where they can spend their happiest moments in life. The business community of the world entices them with alluring places like: the depth of the sea among the coral reef (the Great Barrier Reef in Queen's Land in North - East Australia; Thailand, Florida, Mexico); with the Ghosts! (Oatman Hotel in Oatcity, America); in the train (twenty miles away from Chicago); Magical land of Disney (America); virgin land of Andaman (Ko Landa) and Caribbean Islands (St. Keets); extensive Pink Beach (beautiful and peaceful Harbour Island of Bahamas); London Eye, the biggest Giant Wheel in the world reaching the sky situated on the southern bank of river Thames; Montgo Bay or Mo Bay between the sky and the sea, a coastal city with mountains in the background, the dreamland of the youth; in front of the Great Wall in china, one of the eight wonders of the world; close to the Water Falls (Columbia George Hotel in America, the best Romantic Hotel in the nation); in the Mine (old lead ore in Cornwall, England); in the Super Cave of South Wales (Dome of St. Pauls); in the Lap of Nature (a century old Botanical Garden in Chicago); with colour and sound along with festivities (Salvador in Brazil); in the vineyard (Mount View Estate in Yara valley on the bank of Yara river is Melbourne, Australia); and in the beautiful Epsom Down Race Course in Britain. In spite of all these options, money matters in the selection. As a result around 98% of world's population confine themselves to the traditional mode of marital arrangements, anchoring on local facilities.

What makes a man to get attracted to a place? For many it is the Nature's charm that attracts them. Nature presents herself bewitching, in her raw, crude, native, virgin form adorning with gardens full of flowers, rivers, falls, mountains, forests, beautiful shores and coral reefs. Nowadays, such natural beauty is created by human effort in places of tourist interest.

In spite of the quest for change, it may be noted that human psyche is strongly tied to tradition and religion. Born and brought up in a culture, an individual falls into it and he is mentally tied to that. For all important and memorable moments in life he follows the custom and tradition. Rites of marriage are also not an exception to this. Invocation of Natural Elements and Godly Spirits is common to many cultures. For instance, even in this fast-changing world, the Yakwis inhabiting on the banks of Yakwi River in North America, celebrate their marriage in typical traditional ways. It is meaningful and dear to them seeking blessing from the parents and elders also is found to be a universal feature. Perhaps, Aztecs is the only community; who seeks permission from the teachers (Gurus) for the conduct of marriage. Aztecs are the native Americans settled in Mexico during the Spanish invasions. For them 'axe' is the symbol of cutting the celebrate knot of student teacher relations, so that they can enter in to the system of marriage. The teachers receive an 'axe' at the house of the individual concerned and give permission to leave the school. They also give them advice regarding the protection of wife and also to be a good warrior.

Keeping the ties with religion, if one desires to celebrate an extraordinary marriage ceremony, choose the Chappel of Love, a church only for marriage. It is in Bloomington, America. It has got the biggest Amusement park also. It satisfies the shopping craze of customers and has ample scope for photography.

'Love' is closely related to marriage. The marriage event in its totality helps the spouses to prepare mentally for the marriage. It begins from the preliminary discussions by the two families which get consolidated through 'engagement ceremony' (where the spouses may exchange rings). Usually there will be a short time span between the engagement and wedding. During this period the spouses get closer to each other mentally and know each other better. This might help them to lead a more successful life later. Listen to a love song by Eskimos, a song pulsating the warmth of the heart among the glaciers.

You are my most favourite (my dearest)

My legs are moving

Because of you

My feet

Follows the dance-steps

Because of you

In my eyes

Images are seen

Because of you

In my mind

Thoughts are coming up

Because of you

In my heart

Love blossoms

Because of you

[Eskimos are inhabitants of Artic, sub-artic regions of North America, and tribes who inhabit the sea-shore the North-East seashore of Cyberia. They are scattered in America, Canada, U.S.S.R. and Greenland. They are around 90,000 people.]

Marriage is a spiritual experience for the people of Guatemala in Central America. It is a merging with the central energy source of this Universe. They follow the Mayan Culture - flowers everywhere. Marriage is like being within a heap of flowers.

In short, in his march from the nomadic to an ambitious life in space and other planets, Man is always tied to the centre, the common core, in all his activities - in the institution of marriage also; and the peripheral differences in the overall pattern is the influence of geography, climate, lifestyle and the economic condition of the group. In the context of the economics of marriage it is seen that, in majority of the social groups it is the male's family who has to give money/wealth to the female and her family. The recent trend in the reverse order may be a later development imposed by the rich parents of affluent girls. In any case, a lion's share of marital expenses is met by the girl's family.

To sum up, it may be stated that, the differences in the surface structure of the Institution of marriage are minor 'transformations' of the deep structure, the core, which is unique in nature.

Review

M.B. EMENEAU: A BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH CITATION INDEX. B.A. Sharada. 2006. Mysore: C.I.I.L. Pp. 117. Rs. 100/-.

Reviewed by

P. SREEKUMAR
Dravidian University

Prof. Murray Barnson Emeneau (1904-2005) is an epoch-making presence in the history of modern linguistics in India. His contributions to linguistics ranges from colonial Indology through *Stammbaum* divergence to the *Sprachbund* convergence studies in South Asia. Emeneau's publication of 21 books and 217 journal articles are valuable contribution to linguistic studies. Sharada's present work with citation index gives the bibliographic details of Emeneau's contribution, besides citations of his works by himself and others.

As an information scientist, Sharada has contributed to the bibliographic knowledge base of Dravidian linguistics by her studies on the current trends in Dravidian linguistics based on the articles published in *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* during 1972-1985 (Sharada & Vani. 1987:134-143, 1989:111-123). These bibliographical works are resource for a comprehensive history of linguistic studies in India and specifically for the history of comparative Dravidian linguistics.

There exist a number of bibliographies for comparative Dravidian linguistics compiled by Andronov (1964), Israel (1966), Montgomery (1968: 234-46), Agesthialingom & Sakthivel (1973), Burrow & Emeneau (1984: xxii-xxxiv), Ramaiah (1994 through 2005)

and few online bibliographies. These bibliographies are general in nature. Special mention should be made about Ramaiah's (1994 through 2005) six volume bibliography because of its comprehensibility, classifications of the entries based on language and sub-domains of language studies. However, Sharada's present work is a bibliography of a single scholar. Besides, each entry in this bibliography carries the citation index of the item i.e., information about who cited each article or book. Eugene Garfield, the visionary of information science 1983 (1979) defined citation index as. "The citation index shows the relationships between individual events at different points in time. That makes a citation index particularly effective in telling us what has happened to some idea or experiment-whether it has been confirmed, extended, improved, tried, or corrected".

Each published and unpublished work of Emeneau is arranged in chronological order followed by information on the type of document and further publication information whether it is reprinted etc. A sample of bibliographic presentation in this book is given below (p. 34).

1956 India as linguistic area. Language 32; p. 3-16. Document Type: Journal. [Reprinted in Language and culture and society Edited by P. Dell Hymes. 1964, pp. 642-51; DLF. 1967, pp. 172-86 and LLA 1980, pp. 105-25]

According to the provided bibliography of Emeneau, 70.45 percent of his works belong to journals (217 journal articles), 23.70 percent belong to books (73 books), rest belong to published and unpublished materials. The year-wise information of publication shows that Emeneau's output was considerably more in 1960-69. These nine years he contributed 79 articles which constituted 24 percentage of his total output. The year-wise bibliography shows that the number of his publications is diminishing after 2000; even up to the 1.24 percentage of his total output. He was much productive during his age of 56 to 66.

Each bibliographic entry also carries its citation information. This information provides which article or book of Emeneau is much cited by whom and in which year. E.g.

1956 India as linguistic area. Language. 32; p. 3-16. Document Type: Journal. [Reprinted in Language and culture and

society Edited by P. Dell Hymes. 1964, pp. 642-51; DLF. 1967, pp. 172-86 and LLA 1980, pp. 105-25]

Time cited 116

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A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary with Burrow (1984) is the most cited work of Emeneau (131 times) followed by his classical work *India as a Linguistic Area* (116 times). A rank list of citing author can be generated from the citation index. Emeneau himself cited him more times than any one i.e. 255 times followed by Bh. Krishnamurti (119 times) and P.S. Subramaniom (75 times). Rest are given here: M.S. Andronov (44 times), H.F. Schiffman (33 times), H.S. Ananthanarayana, (32 times), Inder Singh (24 times), B. Gopinathan Nair (23 times), M.C. Shapiro (19 times), Stanford B. Steever (19 times), Kamil V. Zvelebil (19 times), William Bright (14 times), R. Balakrishnan (13 times), Colin P. Masica (13 times), K. Meenakshi (13 times), S. Sakthivel (13 times), G. Sambasiva Rao (12 times), Thomas Burrow (10 times) and S.V. Shanmugham (10 times).

Emeneau entered into the field of Dravidian linguistics by reviewing L.V. Ramaswami Ayyar's (1936) *Evolution of Malayalam Morphology in Language* (Emeneau 1936:300-301). But none of the scholars cited this review until 2005. Another point is a compliment to the *IJDL*. *IJDL* occupies the first rank (121) of citing journal of Emeneau followed by *Indian Linguistics* (57) and *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (51).

Dravidian linguistics does not have a comprehensive history of the field other than the introductory remarks and few articles by Burrow & Emeneau (1984: vii), Krishnamurti (2001: 99-120, 243-260, 370-382; 2003: 30-35), Subrahmanyam (1987, 1988, 2007, 2009), Reddy (2000, 2005), Zvelebil (1956, 1997: xiv-xxvi), Gopinathan Nair (2005)

and Sreekumar (2009: 75-96). The leading historiographer of linguistics E.F.K. Koerner (1995: 3) observes that "a discipline comes of age when it seriously contemplates its own past" (1995b: 3). The alphabetical index of articles, reviews and reports published in *Historiographia Linguistica* I-XXV (1973/74-1998) compiled by Koerner (2000: 69-196) and a perusal of the ten subsequent volumes suggest that the history of linguistics in India and especially concerning comparative Dravidian linguistics has not been sufficiently explored. Development of a bibliographic database with citation index is the necessary first step for the writing of comprehensive history of any discipline (Garfield 1964). Krishnamurti recognized the importance of bibliographic sources in the historiography of comparative Dravidian linguistics in his two articles on the development of the discipline before and after 1960 (Krishnamurti 2001:100-101; 246). Sharada's work is a model for such necessary step for the development of bibliographic resource and can be extended to other pioneers of Dravidian linguistics. Such citation indexes of all Dravidian linguists right from Francis Whyte Ellis (1777-1819) to contemporary leading scholars in the field will reveal who have much contributed and much influenced the development of the field.

Eugene Garfield (1964:1) has raised a question regarding the citation index in general and this work in particular. "What is the relationship between citation frequency and the historical impact or importance of the work cited?" Garfield 1983 (1979): 63) observed that:

There are a number of theoretical objections raised about the use of citation rates as a measure of scientific quality (1). A person's rate could conceivably be inflated by self-citations. A paper might be cited frequently in refutation or as a negative example. There is no precise way of relating the citation rate of a co-authored paper to the contributions made by individual authors.[....] Then too, there is the problem of sloppy, and even biased, bibliographic practices (2). Not everyone cites all the obvious, classical antecedents or is conscientious about citing all the sources actually used. Not everyone conducts an exhaustive literature search or uses all the sources that should have been used. Not everyone limits references to only material that was actually read. And not everyone is objective about who is cited:

some people cite a publication to make a friend look better, to flatter a superior or to wrap themselves in the cloak of scholarship.

The most cited work by Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, is a co-authored one with Borrow (1909-1986) and Emeneau himself cited him number of times than any other. His (Emeneau 1956: 3-16) second most cited work, *India as a Linguistic Area*, also has the same feature observed by Garfield 1983 (1979) 63 i.e. 'India as a linguistic Area' is a "classical antecedent" in the field!

An index of the names of citing authors and subjects extracted from the title also can be appended in the book. If it is there, it would be helpful for the readers who are searching the citing authors in relation to Emeneau's works and his ideas. Since there is no citation from languages other than English, it can be stated that Emeneau's impact on the linguistic literature in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Tamil is underrepresented.

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